DIODORUS OF SICILY

IN TWELVE VOLUMES

XI

FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS XXI-XXXII

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

FRANCIS R. WALTON

GENNADIUS LIBRARY, ATHENS

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON

WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The last twenty books (XXI-XL) of the *Library of History* begin with the battle of Ipsus, fought in 301 B.C., and in their original complete form carried the account down to the author's own day, closing with the events of 61/0 B.C.[1] Though Diodorus is now held in scant esteem as a historian—in marked contrast to his high repute in the XVIth century—, and though his work is admittedly derivative in character and hence of uneven worth, depending on the reliability of his sources, still the loss sustained by the disappearance of these books is scarcely to be measured in terms of their intrinsic merit. Had they survived intact, they would have given us, as nothing now does, a single, continuous, and detailed narrative of events in the whole Mediterranean world during two and a half crucial centuries, and a historical perspective that we now sadly lack. As it is, no more than a fraction of the original survives, mostly in brief excerpts or, occasionally, in longer but freely condensed paraphrase. Even these sorry fragments, however, preserve the record of many incidents other-

[1] The last *narrative* fragment (Book 40. 5a) preserved concerns the Catilinarian Conspiracy, 63 B.C. For a discussion of the conflicting evidence on the terminal date of the work, and the possibility that Diodorus originally intended to carry it on to 46/5 B.C., see Oldfather's Introduction to Vol. I, pp. xiv-xv, xviii-xix.

wise unknown or give us a glimpse of historical traditions different from those that were destined to prevail.

By far the greater part of the fragments come from the historical anthologies compiled in the Xth century for Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, though of the fifty-three original collections only four are preserved: the *Excerpta de Legationibus* (Περὶ πρεσβειῶν[1]), *de Virtutibus et Vitiis* (Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας), *de Insidiis* (Περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν κατὰ βασιλέων γεγονυιῶν), and *de Sententiis* (Περὶ γνωμῶν, or, better, Περὶ γνωμικῶν ἀποστομισμάτων), each including some passages from Diodorus. Next in importance come the fragments from Books XXI-XXVI known as the *Eclogae Hoeschelianae*, and the relatively long extracts from XXXI-XL preserved in the *Bibliotheca* (or *Myriobiblion*) of Photius. Finally, there are the miscellaneous fragments drawn from the Church Fathers or from writers of the Byzantine period, of which those found in Georgius Syncellus are the most significant, those from Tzetzes the most exotic.

These sources preserve or reflect the text of Diodorus with varying degrees of fidelity. The most reliable are the Constantinian collections, as can readily be seen by comparing their excerpts from the surviving books with the originals.[2] The procedure followed by the excerptors was quite simple. From the complete text they selected the passages appro-

[1] This collection is divided into two parts: Περὶ πρεσβειῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς ἐθνικούς, which contains only one passage (31. 15. 2) from Diodorus, and Περὶ πρεσβειῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους.

[2] Boissevain, in his *apparatus criticus* to the *De Sententiis*, conveniently records all the excerptor's departures from the standard text.

priate to their several rubrics, and these they copied out substantially as they stood, omitting whatever seemed irrelevant to their purpose (with or without careful bridging of the gap), and resorting occasionally to mere paraphrase of the original. As they had little interest in history as such, but only in the lessons of history, they would prefix to each selection no more than a summary indication of the situation, often with scant attention to grammatical niceties.[1] For the reconstruction of the lost books it is of capital importance that in each of these collections the excerpts invariably appear in proper sequence, according to the original, though unfortunately without indication of the original division into books.

The Hoeschel fragments are quite different in character, and are almost certainly independent of the Constantinian collections. Here the division by books is indicated, and the selection of material was made along different lines, the primary interest of the editor being in the march of events rather than the isolated *exemplum.*[2] Above all there was a keen interest in Sicilian affairs,[3] evidenced in particular by several lengthy passages of considerable historical importance, which in form, however, are clearly summaries of the original account rather than verbatim extracts. Unfortunately, the carelessness or ineptitude of the compiler was such that his bar-

[1] Striking examples of careless introductions are found in 23. 11, 27. 4. 8, and 27. 11. See below, p. xviii.

[2] Here too, however, there are many *sententiae*, and some curious correspondences with the *De Sententiis* (cp. 21. 21. 9-10 and 23. 15. 10-12) may suggest that the Hoeschel excerptor was familiar with that collection.

[3] The pronounced emphasis on Sicily points to that island as the probable place of origin for the compilation.

barous style often obscures or even distorts the narrative. Where, as in 22. 1. 2-3, we can set his account of events side by side with a Constantinian passage, it is possible to see how far the distortion has gone, but very often no such control exists.

Many of the Photian fragments are likewise condensations of the original text, as can be seen by comparing the long narrative of the First Servile Revolt (34/5. 2. 1-24) with the scattering of parallel passages (*ibid.* 24b-48) from the Constantinian collections. Here again the historian must reckon with the possibility of distortion or over-simplification, but there is always at least the compensation that in such summaries we have a complete and connected story, not merely a series of isolated scenes torn from their context. The material selected by Photius is rich in interest, notably his accounts of the Jews in Books XXXIV/XXXV and XL, and he is again helpful in determining the division of the later books, despite some confusion in the recorded attribution by books, either on his part or that of later copyists.

History of the Fragments

The history of the several groups of fragments under consideration, though not without interest and significance, may here be recounted briefly. The first to be discovered were some of the excerpts made by Photius, which appeared, partly in Greek and partly in Latin, in the first complete edition of Diodorus, that of H. Stephanus (Geneva, 1559). L. Rhodoman, whose reprint of Stephanus' text with a Latin translation (Hanau, 1604) was to remain for nearly a hundred and fifty years the standard edition

of Diodorus, included these fragments as given by Stephanus, but also, despite some repetition, added an appendix containing the Photian excerpts in their entirety.[1]

Meanwhile, in 1582, Fulvius Ursinus (Orsino) had published at Antwerp part of the Constantinian *De Legationibus*, Diodorus included.[2] It is hard not to believe that Rhodoman knew of this edition, especially since he gave some assistance to Hoeschel when the latter published the rest of the collection, under the title *Eclogae Legationum*, at Augsburg in 1603. But whatever the reason for his oversight, Rhodoman failed to include these fragments in his edition, and it remained for Wesseling to unite them with the full text of Diodorus.

As an appendix to his *Eclogae Legationum* Hoeschel also published the fragments of Diodorus that are now known by his name. A year later, in substantially the same form, but now accompanied by a Latin translation, a brief commentary, and a list of corrections, they were reprinted by Rhodoman in his 1604 edition of Diodorus. Hoeschel, in his Preface, makes

[1] The full text of the *Bibliotheca* had been published by David Hoeschel at Augsburg in 1601. Rhodoman mentions this edition at one point in his Preface and (inconveniently) keys his notes to its pages rather than his own. Though I have not seen the Augsburg edition I assume, therefore, that Rhodoman used it for his text. It is curious, however, that in the Preface he thanks, not his friend Hoeschel, but Abraham Drentwedius of Augsburg for making the Photian excerpts available to him—whether by gift of a manuscript or of the printed volume he does not say.

[2] Some of the emendations ascribed to Ursinus are certainly by Ant. Augustinus, archbishop of Tarragona, who had had a MS. in his own possession copied and sent to Ursinus with his annotations (see de Boor's edition of the *Exc. de Legationibus*, Preface, pp. xiii-xiv).

only this statement concerning the fragments : " His corollarium addidimus Eclogas librorum Diodori Siculi amissorum, quas e Codice Ludovici Alemanni Florentini doctiss. R. Thomson Anglus mecum amice communicavit." In the same year, however, he wrote to a friend, commending Rhodoman " qui suam mihi ἀγχίνοιαν καὶ εὐστοχίαν probavit in libro πρεσβειῶν πέρι· quod constabit, cum notas edidero[;] nunc enim textus, quem vocant, impressus est modo." [1] Since the promised Notes never appeared, the exact relationship of the two editors remains an unresolved problem, though Rhodoman consistently speaks as if he alone were responsible for all the emendations to the text, those that appear in the margin of both editions no less than the ones found only in his notes. As a purely arbitrary solution to the problem I have attributed to both men the marginal emendations, to Hoeschel alone the changes indicated in the text proper, and of course to Rhodoman alone those that appear only in his commentaries. After 1604 no more is heard either of the original manuscript or of Thomson's copy of it. Thus the two editions, of 1603 and 1604, have for us the value of manuscripts, and the text of Hoeschel is cited in the critical notes as H, that of Rhodoman, wherever it shows a significant variant, as ed. Rhod.

In 1634 H. Valesius (Valois) published, from a manuscript (P) purchased in Cyprus for Nicolaus Peirescius in 1627, the text of the collection *De Virtutibus et Vitiis*. In the interim the manuscript was for a while in the hands of Claudius Salmasius (Saul-

[1] Quoted by Wesseling in his Praefatio (but with a comma after *edidero*).

maise), who copied parts of it and made many emendations to the text. This copy was discovered by Büttner-Wobst in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Codex Parisinus 2550), and since time and neglect have caused the Peiresc manuscript to deteriorate, the copy is not only of some importance for the actual text, but also attests Salmasius' prior claim to many emendations made independently by Valesius and others later.

The next important contribution came more than a century later, when Petrus Wesseling produced his great edition in two folio volumes (Amsterdam, 1746). This edition, which is still fundamental to all students of Diodorus, not least for its copious and illuminating annotations, brought together all of Diodorus that was then known, and Wesseling himself collected and added a number of isolated fragments found in later authors.

The collection *De Sententiis* was discovered by Cardinal Angelo Mai in a Vatican palimpsest (V), and published by him in 1827, in *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, vol. II. Unfortunately the chemicals that he used on the manuscript to bring out the original text have wrought serious damage. Nonetheless Boissevain, by diligent inspection of the manuscript over a period of five months, was able to recover numerous true readings where Mai and others had failed. Thanks to his efforts, therefore, the present edition offers an improved text of these fragments that differs in many instances from the standard text of Dindorf's Teubner edition.

The last major discovery, that of the *Excerpta de Insidiis*, followed hard upon Mai's publication of V. The Escorial manuscript (S), which is our sole source

here for Diodorus and for most of the other authors represented in the collection, was copied in 1830 by C. Aug. L. Feder. For some reason, however, it was not until 1848 that he first published, at Darmstadt, a part of the text, including the extracts from Diodorus.[1] In the same year, at Paris, the Escorial fragments of Polybius, Diodorus, and Dionysius were brought out by Carolus Mueller in vol. II of the *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, apparently from a copy he himself had made of the manuscript. Neither edition, however, was conspicuous for its accuracy, and it was again not until 1905, with de Boor's edition of the entire collection, that a sound text for this portion of Diodorus became available.

The rest of the story is one not of discovery but of consolidation. In this sphere the chief contributor was Ludwig Dindorf, who between 1826 and 1868 brought out four separate editions of Diodorus, and whose services, especially as regards Books XXI-XL, entitle him to be ranked beside Wesseling himself. Of these editions the second, third, and fourth are still of great value.[2] The second (Dindorf[2]), published by Hartmann at Leipzig, 1828–1831, is indeed indispensable for the fragments, since it is the only complete edition with critical apparatus; unfortunately it is rare and difficult to come by. Although the collections of fragments were here still printed as separate units, as in the Wesseling edition, a table was now provided (vol. ii. 2, pp. 213-245) to show their arrangement in chronological order. Dindorf

[1] I have seen and used only the reprint of 1849, which lacks the Latin translation of the 1848 edition.

[2] *Pace* F. Vogel who, speaking to be sure primarily of Books VI-X (in vol. ii of his Teubner edition, p. vii), minimizes Dindorf's work on the fragments.

also made many additions to the section of miscellaneous fragments and did much to improve and elucidate the text of V, just published by Mai.

The third edition (Paris: Didot, 1842–1844), though based on a new recension of the Greek text by Dindorf, was actually the work of Mueller,[1] who for the first time arranged the fragments chronologically and by books, and provided the Latin translation (for the most part ultimately the work of Rhodoman).

Finally, Dindorf re-edited the text for the Teubner series (Leipzig, 1866–1868), keeping Mueller's chronological arrangement[2] of Books XXI-XL, but adding the Escorial fragments, and incorporating many emendations of his own and of other recent scholars, notably Herwerden. Since the Vogel-Fischer edition was never carried beyond Book XX, Dindorf[4] has remained the standard text for Books XXI-XL, and it is therefore all the more regrettable that Dindorf did not here provide a critical apparatus.[3]

Since Dindorf's day the chief contribution to the study of the fragments is the splendid critical edition

[1] For convenience' sake this edition is cited simply as Dindorf³, without mention of Mueller. And, in fact, though the chronological disposition of the fragments, the major contribution of this edition, was Mueller's work, the groundwork for this had been laid by Dindorf, in the table mentioned above.

[2] The numbering of the fragments is for the most part the same, since the new fragments were generally fitted into place as supplementary chapters (*e.g.* chap. 5a between chap. 5 and chap. 6), but enough changes were made to make it unsafe to cite by the Didot numbers.

[3] Bekker's Teubner edition of Diodorus (1853–1854), though the first to include the Escorial fragments (here printed as a separate appendix), gives no critical notes for Books XXI-XL, and has little value.

of the Constantinian corpus, published at Berlin by Weidmann (1903–1910), under the general title *Excerpta historica iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta.* The volumes relevant to Diodorus are the following :

I *Excerpta de Legationibus*, ed. C. de Boor, 1903.
II *Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, pars I, ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, 1906.
III *Excerpta de Insidiis*, ed. C. de Boor, 1905.
IV *Excerpta de Sententiis*, ed. U. P. Boissevain, 1906.

Though the avowed aim in this series was to recover the text of the Byzantine excerptors, rather than that of the original authors, the editors have placed in their debt all students of classical as well as Byzantine Greek. And for the fragments of Diodorus their care in recording the readings of the manuscripts has made possible a much improved text, above all in the *De Sententiis* and the *De Legationibus*.

The Present Edition

It is now a century and a quarter since the last critical edition of the fragments of Books XXI-XL was published, and neither that edition (Dindorf[2]) nor the *Excerpta Historica* are readily available. Had the Vogel-Fischer edition of Diodorus gone on to include these books, taking account of the improved text of the Constantinian collections, it might have been practicable to accept it as a standard text, which could be reproduced with a minimum of change. As it is, no single edition can now be regarded as "standard," and though the editor has leaned

heavily on Dindorf[4], it seems essential to justify the text now presented by providing a much fuller critical apparatus than is customary in this series.

In general, it has been my intention to record all significant variations from the manuscript readings. But obvious or routine corrections—of accents, marks of breathing, augments—and minor changes in orthography [1] have as a rule been made tacitly. So also with some more substantial changes where there seemed no possibility of doubt as to their correctness. On the other hand, a number of inconsistencies in orthography [2] have been allowed to stand, though Dindorf in his final edition tended nearly always to standardize the spelling.

Since the evidence for the text of most of the fragments is in each case only a single manuscript, the amount of emendation and correction required is inevitably large. Nevertheless, the text presented here is essentially conservative. Occasional Byzantine forms, such as *καταπτωθείσης* (26. 8) and *δίδειν* (31. 8. 5), have been allowed to remain, and likewise some Byzantine constructions. Especially in the non-Constantinian passages, where the text is more often a paraphrase than a faithful transcript, attempts to make the Greek conform to Diodorean usage are both misguided and futile. The Hoeschel excerptor, for example, freely uses the genitive absolute where a circumstantial participle, agreeing with its noun, would be in order, as at 23. 19: *τοῦ δὲ ἀπολύσαντος*

[1] *e.g.* Μεσσήνη for Μεσήνη (*passim*) or Κεντοριπίνων for Κεντοριππίνων (22. 13. 1).

[2] *e.g.* θαλαττοκρατούντων side by side with θαλάσσης (23. 2. 1), Καμαρίνας and Καμαρίνης (23. 18. 1), νηῶν and νεῶν, and variant forms of the name Syracuse, including even Συρακόσιος and Συρακούσιος together in 21. 16. 5.

. . . ἀπέστειλεν ὁ ἄρχων. This may at times (as perhaps here) be the result of hasty and careless condensation, and occasionally at such places (*e.g.* 22. 10. 1) I have ventured to indicate a lacuna. But on the whole it is both safer and simpler to accept the construction as it stands, recognizing it as characteristic of the excerptor's own inelegant style. Emendation seems equally out of place where, in the Constantinian passages, the Byzantine editor has imperfectly adapted his introduction to the text proper. So at 22. 6. 2 the editorial Ὅτι Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς is followed by εἰπεῖν, which probably stood in the original text and if so was needlessly emended by Dindorf to εἶπεν. Again, at 23. 2, the words Ὅτι Φοίνικες καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ναυμαχήσαντες, though effectively explicit as to the situation, accord ill with the following participle and verb, which refer to the Carthaginians alone. As a final example we may cite 27. 11 : Ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι σιτοδείας ἐμπεσούσης οἱ καχέκται τῶν πολιτῶν κτλ. Here again Dindorf emends, reading τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, although it seems evident that the words οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι were added by the excerptor, concerned only to make clear to his readers who these otherwise unidentified καχέκται were.

In preparing this edition I have relied entirely upon the printed record, and have not re-examined the manuscripts. Since the Constantinian collections have been well and critically edited,[1] and the manuscript of the Hoeschel fragments is now lost, it is perhaps only in the case of Photius, last edited by

[1] Rarely, as twice in 27. 7, the critical edition differs from the Vulgate without the fact being noted or explained. In such cases, and wherever else it is uncertain if a given reading was intended by the editor, the reading in question is designated as " ed. Büttner-Wobst," " ed. Wesseling," etc.

I. Bekker (Berlin, 1824–1825), that a fresh study of the manuscripts might have produced significant results. For Suidas I have used the Adler edition (Leipzig, 1928–1938). Other minor sources are cited by the last available editions, which in each case are identified in the notes on their first appearance.

Dindorf[4] has long been the standard edition by which the fragments of Books XXI-XL are cited. For this reason it seemed desirable at all costs to preserve the long-familiar numbering of the fragments, by book, chapter, and paragraph, as found there. Fortunately the work of Mueller and Dindorf in arranging the fragments has on the whole stood the test of time, though in the light of our present historical knowledge some changes were obviously called for. Yet to renumber completely, in accordance with some new arrangement of the fragments, seemed certain to lead to unnecessary confusion, as has notoriously been the case with the fragmentary books of Polybius. Under the circumstances, therefore, it seemed best to make only such changes in order as were, in the editor's judgement, imperative,[1] but to keep the Dindorf[4] numbering intact. Obviously such a compromise solution entails some inconvenience, but it is hoped that this has been minimized by full cross-references given before and after the relocated passages.[2]

[1] But such a passage as 22. 5, for instance, was not transposed, since its exact date is not certain; it could, however, and perhaps should, stand somewhat later in the book, either after chap. 7 or after chap. 9.

[2] In addition, some passages printed separately by Dindorf have been combined, whenever fragments from different sources could be reconciled or fitted together (*e.g.* 26. 11, where three separate fragments overlap; 32. 9d and

An effort has been made to date the fragments as accurately as possible, and where a precise year could not be assigned to a passage, an indication of the possible limits is usually given, either in the margin or in the notes. Diodorus, here as earlier in his work, followed the annalistic pattern, and since the Constantinian excerpts appear to reflect the original order with complete fidelity,[1] it is generally possible to obtain at least approximate dates even for events not otherwise recorded or for which the other evidence is not decisive.[2] To a lesser degree this principle of arrangement and dating applies also to the Hoeschel and Photius fragments, though some of the long narratives in each, being compilations rather than actual excerpts, may obscure the original order by bringing together related events from the accounts of several years.

A comparison of my marginal dates and the dates given in the *Argumenta Librorum* of Dindorf[4] will show many changes. Some of the new dates may be regarded as securely established, others will no doubt have to be modified as further evidence is forthcoming. For the Roman chronology I have relied chiefly upon T. R. S. Broughton's invaluable *Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (New York, 1951–1952), while for the Greek world the single most helpful work was

10. 1). The most extensive re-arrangement of this sort occurs at 23. 15 (=23. 14. 3-4 and 15 Dind.), where much unnecessary duplication has been eliminated.

[1] See the notes on 29. 10 and 29. 9, where Mueller and Dindorf disregarded the evidence of the manuscript.

[2] So 24. 10, on the capture of Hecatompylus, and 24. 12, on the cruelty of Regulus' widow, can be dated to the period 247–241 B.C., since the passages (24. 5 and 25. 2. 1) that precede and follow them in the *Exc. de Virtutibus* can be dated, and accordingly set the limits.

B. Niese's *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten* (Gotha, 1893–1903), which, though now outdated in part, is still the only broad study that takes account of and attempts to place *all* recorded events of the period.

My footnotes, though necessarily more ample than in the earlier volumes of Diodorus in this series, have been kept as brief as possible. The primary purpose throughout has been to provide the reader, chiefly by the identification of names and the citation of parallel passages in other authors, with the means of setting each fragment against its historical background. Nor are the citations from other historians intended to be complete, and in general preference has been given to authors earlier than Diodorus, especially Polybius, who was one of his chief sources for Books XXII-XXXII.

Obviously, the notes could not attempt to provide a full commentary, though such a work would be desirable. The annotations of the Wesseling edition, which incorporate the more important notes of preceding editors, still constitute the only substantial commentary available. Dindorf[2] reprints these, with his own notes to the Vatican fragments (V) and some slight additions, while for the *De Insidiis* there are only the brief notes of Feder and of Mueller. Book XXXVII, so far as it deals with the Marsic War, was edited with a commentary by Krebs (Weilburg, 1862).

A few other works of some importance may also be mentioned. Of translations the most useful is the German version of J. F. Wurm (Stuttgart, 1827–1840), whose interpretations and occasional emendations of the text have been unduly neglected. H. van

Herwerden's *Spicilegium Vaticanum* (Leyden, 1860) deals primarily with the text of V, which he had himself re-examined, but also provides a running commentary, almost entirely textual, on many of the other fragments as well. Though intolerant of the work of others and not infrequently perverse in his own interpretations, Herwerden yet contributed much to the study of the fragments. Slighter contributions, again mostly textual, were made by Reiske, Hertlein, Madvig, Kallenberg, and Cobet, and there have been a number of studies devoted to the question of the sources used by Diodorus. Except, however, for the incidental and scattered remarks of some historians, relatively little sustained attention has been paid since Wesseling's day to the actual content of these later books.[1]

The Manuscripts

The manuscript basis for what little has been preserved of Books XXI-XL is extremely slight. The four Constantinian collections—and only four out of fifty-three survived at all, it may be remembered—seem each to have survived to the revival of learning in only a single exemplar. Two late and imperfect copies exist of the *De Insidiis*, both from a single archetype, only one of which, however, contains the fragments from Diodorus. Of the *De Legationibus* there are a number of manuscripts, but all again are late copies (none earlier than the late XVIth century) of a single earlier manuscript now lost. This original had been bequeathed to the Escorial library by Juan

[1] I have discussed a number of passages, including (from the present volume) 24. 1. 2, 25. 8, 25. 19, 29. 13, and 29. 27, in *A.J.P.* 77 (1956), 274-281, 408-414.

de Paez and perished there by fire in 1671. None of the copies has individual authority, and since it has not been found necessary to cite them except by their consensus (represented by the *siglum* O), it may suffice to refer for a detailed description of each to de Boor's Introduction, pp. ix-xvi.

The Hoeschel fragments, as stated earlier, come from a manuscript now lost, which is represented for us only by the printed texts of Hoeschel and Rhodoman. These have been carefully collated for the present edition.

The Photius fragments present a more serious problem. It is now known that all extant manuscripts of the *Bibliotheca* derive from two extant manuscripts, the tenth-century Codex Marcianus Ven. 450 (A), and the eleventh-century Codex Marcianus Ven. 451 (M). Bekker fortunately relied chiefly on A, which represents by far the better tradition. Of the three other manuscripts used by him, B is in fact only a copy of A and its variants are therefore to be classed either as errors or as the scribes' own conjectures. Bekker's C and D (the latter actually a mere copy of C) are poor and late representations of the M tradition, but M itself has never, so far as I know, been utilized for the text of Diodorus. Ideally, the present text should have been based on personal inspection of both A and M, but the editor's regret that this was not done is at least tempered by the pronouncements of A. Severyns [1] on the decided inferiority of the M tradition.

Where it has been necessary to cite the manu-

[1] *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus. Première partie : Le codex 239 de Photius*, vol. i (Liège, 1938), pp. 374, 379.

scripts for the minor fragments, the standard *sigla* for each author are used.

It remains to express my deep gratitude to the many colleagues who have generously given me assistance and advice. Above all, my thanks are due to my good friends and former teachers L. A. Post and A. D. Nock, the one, for services far beyond the call of editorial duty, the other, for his detailed and critical examination of my entire manuscript. Nearly every page owes something to each, and the occasional emendations of the Greek text credited to them represent only a small part of their real contribution. Professor T. R. S. Broughton allowed me to consult him repeatedly on problems of chronology and Roman history, and also read through the entire work, partly in proof and partly in manuscript. Through the courtesy of Professor Albert Wifstrand, who copied out for me his marginalia on these books, it has been possible to improve a number of passages in the text with his unpublished emendations. At my request Dom Anselmo M. Albareda, O.S.B., Prefect of the Vatican Library, kindly examined pages 353-354 of Codex Vaticanus Graecus LXXIII (V); unfortunately not a word could now be deciphered there, even with the help of ultra-violet rays. Others to whom I am indebted for help include Professors Maurice T. Avery, Benedict Einarson, Willy Peremans, H. C. Youtie, and Mr. V. G. Peterson. The Research Council of Florida State University generously provided a grant for assistance in reading proof on this volume. To all these and the many others who are not named I offer my warmest thanks.

FRANCIS R. WALTON

FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
April 1957

SIGLA

Eclogae Photianae

A Codex Venetus Marcianus 450, saec. X.
B Codex Parisiensis Regius 1266.

Eclogae Hoeschelianae

H Lost original, represented by the printed texts of Hoeschel (1603) and Rhodoman (1604).

Excerpta Constantiniana

O Consensus of the best copies (or descendants) of the lost Codex Scorialensis I Θ 4. *Excerpta de Legationibus.*
P Codex Turonensis C 980 (" Peirescianus "), saec. XI. *Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis.*
S Codex Scorialensis Ω I 11, saec. XVI. *Excerpta de Insidiis.*
V Codex rescriptus Vaticanus Graecus LXXIII, saec. X/XI. *Excerpta de Sententiis.*

THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY

OF

DIODORUS OF SICILY

FRAGMENTS OF BOOKS XXI–XXXII

ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ

ΤΟΥ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΟΥ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXI

1. 4a. Πᾶσαν μὲν κακίαν φευκτέον ἐστὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν πλεονεξίαν· αὕτη γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐλπίδα προκαλουμένη πολλοὺς πρὸς ἀδικίαν μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτία γίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. διὸ καὶ μητρόπολις οὖσα τῶν ἀδικημάτων, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν βασιλέων πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἀπεργάζεται[1] συμφοράς.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 343-344; *Exc. Hoesch.* p. 489 W.)

Chap. 1. 4b: see below, after Chap. 1. 3.

1 Ὅτι Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἰδιώτου γενόμενος δυνάστης καὶ πλεῖστον ἰσχύσας τῶν καθ᾿ αὑτὸν βασιλέων οὐκ ἠρκέσθη ταῖς παρὰ τῆς τύχης δωρεαῖς, ἀλλ᾿ ἐπιβαλόμενος τὰς τῶν ἄλλων βασιλείας εἰς αὑτὸν ἀδίκως περιστῆσαι τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπέβαλεν ἀρχὴν ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ζῆν ἐστερήθη.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 252.)

THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY

OF

DIODORUS OF SICILY

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXI

1. 4a. All vice should be shunned by men of intelligence, but especially greed, for this vice, because of the expectation of profit, prompts many to injustice and becomes the cause of very great evils to mankind. Hence, since it is a very *metropolis* [1] of unjust acts, it brings many great misfortunes not only on private citizens but even on the greatest kings.[2] 301 B.C.

King Antigonus, who rose from private station to high power and became the mightiest king of his day, was not content with the gifts of Fortune, but undertook to bring unjustly into his own hands the kingdoms of all the others; thus he lost his own dominion and was deprived of life as well.

[1] For this favourite metaphor see note in Vol. I, p. 8, and cp. Book 25. 1.

[2] This fragment, Dindorf's 1. 4a (known to him only from H), has been placed here, since it precedes 1. 2 in V and seems to be prefatory to the whole account of Antigonus I's death in the battle of Ipsus.

---

[1] ἐργάζεται V (but cp. Book 25. 1). In H πολλὰς . . . συμφορὰς precedes οὐ μόνον, above.

2 Ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος[1] καὶ Σέλευκος καὶ Λυσίμαχος συνέδραμον ἐπ' Ἀντίγονον τὸν βασιλέα· οὐχ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐνοίας προκληθέντες, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς φόβου συναναγκασθέντες ὥρμησαν ἑτοίμως πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων κοινοπραγίαν.

Ὅτι οἱ ἐλέφαντες οἱ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Λυσιμάχου κατὰ τὴν μάχην[2] ἠγωνίζοντο ὡς ἂν τῆς φύσεως ἐφάμιλλον δεδωκυίας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀλκὴν καὶ βίαν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 344.)

3 [Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσελθόντων αὐτῷ τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ προλεγόντων ὡς, εἰ τὸν Σέλευκον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφήσει, συμβήσεται τήν τ' Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν ὑποχείριον γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον παρατάξει καταστρέψειν τὸν βίον . . . οὐ μετρίως ἐκινήθη . . . καταπλαγεὶς τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν. . . . δοκοῦσι δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προειπεῖν ὅτι παρελθὼν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα τελευτήσει. ὁμοίως δὲ τῇ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου προρρήσει συνέβη καὶ τὴν περὶ Σελεύκου τελεσθῆναι κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἀποφάσεις· περὶ ἧς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐροῦμεν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους ἐπιβαλώμεθα.]

(Diodorus, 19. 55. 7-9.)

Chap. 1. 4a : see above, before Chap. 1. 1.

4b Ὁ Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀσίας τέσσαρσι βασιλεῦσιν ὁμονοήσασι πολεμήσας,[3] Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Λάγου Αἰγυπτίων ὄντι βασιλεῖ, Σελεύκῳ Βαβυλωνίων,[4] Λυσιμάχῳ Θρᾳκῶν, Κασάνδρῳ τῷ Ἀντιπάτρου Μακεδονίας, καὶ μάχην συνάψας, πολλοῖς βέλεσι τρωθεὶς ἀνῃρέθη καὶ θάπτεται βασιλικῇ

[1] ὁ after Πτολεμαῖος deleted by Mai.

Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus united against King Antigonus; not so much prompted by goodwill towards one another as compelled by the fears each had for himself, they moved readily to make common cause in the supreme struggle.

In the battle, the elephants of Antigonus and Lysimachus fought as if nature had matched them equally in courage and strength.

[After this [1] certain Chaldaeans approached Antigonus and prophesied that if he should let Seleucus out of his grasp, it would come to pass that all Asia would be made subject to Seleucus, and that Antigonus himself would die in battle against him. . . . This stirred him deeply . . . for he was impressed by the reputation that the men enjoyed. . . . They are in fact reputed to have prophesied to Alexander that if he entered Babylon, he would die. And just as in the case of Alexander, it came about that the prophecy concerning Seleucus was fulfilled according to the pronouncements of these men. Of this prophecy we shall speak in detail when we come to the proper period.]

Antigonus, king of Asia, made war against a coalition of four kings, Ptolemy, son of Lagus, king of Egypt, Seleucus, king of Babylonia, Lysimachus, king of Thrace, and Cassander, son of Antipater, king of Macedonia. When he engaged them in battle, he was pierced by many missiles, and his body was carried from the field and was buried with royal

[1] For the context see Vol. IX, p. 383. The date is 316 B.C.

[2] κατὰ τὴν μάχην precedes Ἀντιγόνου in V; transposed by Dindorf.

[3] οἱ after πολεμήσας deleted by Hoeschel.

[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: Βαβυλῶνι H.

τιμῇ. ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Δημήτριος σὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ Στρατονίκῃ διατριβούσῃ περὶ Κιλικίαν σὺν τοῖς χρήμασι πᾶσιν ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα τῆς Κύπρου διὰ τὸ κατέχεσθαι ὑπὸ Δημητρίου.

(*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 489 W.)

5 Ὅτι Σέλευκος μετὰ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς Ἀντιγόνου βασιλείας ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν παρεγένετο εἰς Φοινίκην καὶ ἐπεχείρησε κατὰ τὰς γενομένας συνθήκας τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν ἰδιοποιεῖσθαι. προκατειληφότος δὲ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις Πτολεμαίου καὶ κατηγοροῦντος ὅτι φίλος ὢν Σέλευκος προσεδέξατο τὴν ὑπὸ Πτολεμαῖον οὖσαν χώραν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν καταταχθῆναι μερίδα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίγονον κεκοινωνηκότος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μετέδωκαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς δορικτήτου χώρας, πρὸς ταύτας τὰς διαβολὰς ἀντεῖπε Σέλευκος φάμενος δίκαιον εἶναι τοὺς τῇ παρατάξει κρατήσαντας κυρίους ὑπάρχειν τῶν δορικτήτων, περὶ δὲ τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας διὰ τὴν φιλίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος μηδὲν πολυπραγμονήσειν,[1] ὕστερον δὲ βουλεύσεσθαι[2] πῶς χρηστέον ἐστὶν τῶν φίλων τοῖς βουλομένοις πλεονεκτεῖν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 344.)

6 [Οὐ μὴν πολύν γε χρόνον συνέβη μεῖναι τὴν πόλιν, Σελεύκου καθελόντος αὐτὴν καὶ μεταγαγόντος ἐπὶ τὴν κτισθεῖσαν μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ κληθεῖσαν Σελεύκειαν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα δηλώσομεν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους παραγενηθέντες.] (Diod. 20. 47. 6.)

[1] So Dindorf: πολυπραγμονῆσαι V.
[2] So Dindorf: βουλεύσασθαι V.

honours. His son Demetrius,[1] however, joining his mother Stratonicê, who had remained in Cilicia with all their valuables, sailed to Salamis in Cyprus, since it was in his possession.

As for Seleucus, after the partition of the kingdom of Antigonus, he took his army and went to Phoenicia, where, in accordance with the terms of the agreement,[2] he endeavoured to appropriate Coelê Syria. But Ptolemy had already occupied the cities of that region, and was denouncing Seleucus because, although he and Ptolemy were friends, Seleucus had accepted the assignment to his own share of a district that was already subject to Ptolemy; in addition, he accused the kings of giving him no part of the conquered territory, even though he had been a partner in the war against Antigonus. To these charges Seleucus replied that it was only just that those who were victorious on the battlefield[3] should dispose of the spoils; but in the matter of Coelê Syria, for friendship's sake he would not for the present interfere, but would consider later how best to deal with friends who chose to encroach.

[It so happened, however, that the city[4] did not long abide, for Seleucus tore it down and transferred its population to the city that he had founded and called Seleuceia after himself. But as for these matters, we shall set them forth exactly and in detail when we come to the proper period.] c. 300 B.C.

[1] Demetrius I (Poliorcetes). Plutarch (*Demetrius*, 30) gives a different account of his movements.
[2] On the disputed terms of this agreement see Polybius, 5. 67.
[3] Ptolemy had not, in fact, taken part in the battle.
[4] Antigoneia on the Orontes. Seleuceia, *infra*, is probably an error of the historian for Antiocheia: see the note *ad loc.* in Vol. X.

Εἴ τῳ περισπούδαστον ταύτας (sc. τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐνταῦθα σταλείσας ἀποικίας) εἰδέναι, ἱστόρηται περιέργως Στράβωνι τῷ γεωγράφῳ, Φλέγοντί τε καὶ Διοδώρῳ τῷ ἐκ Σικελίας . . .

(Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1. 20. 275.[1])

2. Ὅτι Κέρκυρα πολιορκουμένη πλοΐ καὶ πεζῇ[2] ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου βασιλέως Μακεδόνων, καὶ ἑτοίμη οὖσα ἁλωθῆναι, ὑπὸ Ἀγαθοκλέους βασιλέως Σικελίας ἐρρύσθη, τῶν νηῶν τῶν Μακεδονικῶν ἁπασῶν ἐμπρησθεισῶν.[3] (*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 489-490 W.)

2 Ὑπερβολὴν γὰρ ἑκάτεροι φιλοτιμίας οὐ κατέλιπον, οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες σπεύδοντες σῶσαι τὰς ναῦς, οἱ δὲ Σικελιῶται βουλόμενοι μὴ μόνον Καρχηδονίων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν βαρβάρων περιγενέσθαι δοκεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα θεωρηθῆναι κρείττους ὄντες[4] Μακεδόνων τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην πεποιημένων δορίκτητον.

3 Ὅτι Ἀγαθοκλῆς εἰ μὲν ἀποβιβάσας τὴν δύναμιν ἐπικειμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπέθετο, κατέκοψεν ἂν ῥᾳδίως τοὺς Μακεδόνας· ἀγνοήσας δὲ τὴν γεγενημένην προσαγγελίαν καὶ τὴν ἔκπληξιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠρκέσθη τὴν δύναμιν ἀποβιβάσας καὶ τρόπαιον στήσας διαλαβεῖν ἀληθῆ τὸν λόγον εἶναι ὅτι πολλὰ κενὰ[5] τοῦ πολέμου. ἄγνοια γὰρ καὶ ἀπάτη πολλάκις οὐκ ἐλάττω[6] κατεργάζεται τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐνεργείας.[7]

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 344-345 ; πολλὰ κενὰ . . . ἐνεργείας, *Exc. Hoesch.* p. 490 W.)

3. Ὅτι παραγενηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ καταλειφθὲν[8] στρατόπεδον Ἀγαθοκλῆς μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κερκύρας ὑπο-

[1] Ed. Bidez and Parmentier, London, 1898.

If anyone is eager to know about the colonies sent out to this region [1] from Greece, there are painstaking accounts of the matter by Strabo the geographer, Phlegon, and Diodorus of Sicily.

2. When Corcyra was being besieged on land and 299/8 B.C.
sea by Cassander, king of Macedonia, and was on the point of capture, it was delivered by Agathocles, king of Sicily, who set fire to the entire Macedonian fleet.

The utmost spirit of rivalry was not lacking on either side, for the Macedonians were bent on saving their ships, while the Siceliotes wished not only to be regarded as victors over the Carthaginians and the barbarians of Italy, but also to show themselves in the Greek arena as more than a match for the Macedonians, whose spears had subjugated both Asia and Europe.

Had Agathocles, after landing his army, attacked the enemy, who were near at hand, he would easily have crushed the Macedonians ; but since he was ignorant of the message that had been received and of the consternation of the men, he was satisfied, after landing his forces, to set up a trophy, and thus to prove the truth of the proverb, " Many are the futilities of warfare." For misapprehension and deceit often accomplish as much as armed action.

3. When, on his return from Corcyra, Agathocles rejoined the army that he had left behind, and

[1] The reference is to Antioch of Syria. Cp. Strabo, 749-750.

[2] So Wesseling : πεζὶ H. For πλοΐ καὶ πεζὶ Hoeschel, Rhodoman suggest πλοίοις καὶ πεζοῖς.
[3] So Rhodoman : ἐμπρησθησῶν H.
[4] So Dindorf : ..τας V. [5] καινὰ V. [6] ἔλαττον H.
[7] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman : τὴν . . . ἐνέργειαν HV.
[8] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman : καταληφθὲν H.

στροφήν, καὶ πυθόμενος[1] *τούς τε Λίγυας καὶ τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς ταραχωδῶς ἀπητηκέναι τοὺς μισθοὺς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀγάθαρχον κατὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ,*[2] *πάντας ἀπέσφαξεν, οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντας*[3] *τῶν δισχιλίων. τῶν δὲ Βρεττίων ἀλλοτρίως διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτὸν διατεθέντων, ἐπεχείρησε πολιορκῆσαι*[4] *πόλιν ὀνομαζομένην Ἧθας. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἀθροισάντων μεγάλην δύναμιν καὶ νυκτὸς ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ, ἀπέβαλε στρατιώτας τετρακισχιλίους, καὶ οὕτως ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Συρακόσας.*

(*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 490 W; Ὅτι . . . δισχιλίων (in part), *Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 252-253 = Chap. 3. 2 Dind.)

4. *Ὅτι Ἀγαθοκλῆς τὰς ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις ἀθροίσας διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. διανοούμενος ἐπὶ Κρότωνος στρατεύειν, θέλων αὐτὴν πολιορκῆσαι,*[5] *πρὸς Μενέδημον τὸν Κροτωνιάτην τύραννον, ἑαυτοῦ φίλον ὄντα, ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελιαφόρον*[6] *μὴ θορυβεῖσθαι αὐτὸν*[7] *ψευδῶς, Λάνασσαν τὴν θυγατέρα λέγων πέμπειν πρὸς τὴν Ἤπειρον ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον, στόλῳ κεκοσμημένην βασιλικῷ, καὶ οὕτως ἀπατήσας εὗρεν ἀνετοίμους. εἶτα πολιορκήσας ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν περιέβαλε τείχη, καὶ διὰ πετροβόλου καὶ διορυχῆς τὸν μέγιστον οἶκον*[8]

[1] To this point P has only Ὅτι Ἀγαθοκλῆς πυθόμενος.

[2] πυθόμενος . . . ἀπουσίαν αὐτοῦ] The text of H is corrupt: πόθῳ μὲν τοὺς τεμγύας καὶ τοὺς (omitted in P) τυρρικοὺς (omitting ταραχωδῶς) ἀπηντηκέναι αὐτοὺς μισθωτοὺς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ (omitted in P) Ἀρχάγαθον (Ἀγάθαρχον P) καὶ τὴν ἀπουσίαν αὐτῆς.

[3] H omits ὄντας.

[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: πολιορκήσας H.

[5] θέλων . . . πολιορκῆσαι transposed by Post from a position after ψευδῶς, below.

[6] ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελιαφόρον] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: πέμψας αἰκλίσφορον H, βιβλιαφόρον Herwerden, Dindorf.[4]

learned that in his absence the Ligurians and Etruscans had mutinously demanded their pay from his son Agatharchus,[1] he put them all to death, to the number of at least two thousand. This action alienated the Bruttians, whereupon Agathocles c. 298 B.C. attempted to capture the city which is called Ethae.[2] When the barbarians, however, assembled a large force and made an unexpected attack by night upon him, he lost four thousand men, and in consequence returned to Syracuse.

4. Agathocles brought together his naval forces c. 295 B.C. and sailed across to Italy. Planning to move on Croton, since he wished to besiege the city, he sent a messenger to Menedemus, the tyrant of Croton, his friend, bidding him not to be alarmed falsely and saying that he was escorting his daughter Lanassa with royal honours to Epirus for her marriage[3]; and by this ruse he caught the Crotoniates off their guard. He then invested the city and encircled it with walls from sea to sea, and by means of a stone-thrower and by tunnelling brought down in ruins the largest of

[1] The less reliable Hoeschel text calls him Archagathus. Two sons, Archagathus and Heracleides, had been killed in Africa in 307 B.C. (Book 20. 69). Agatharchus may then be a third son of Agathocles by his first marriage (cp. Berve, "Die Herrschaft des Agathokles," *S.B. München*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1952, 5, p. 76, n. 71); or, on Hoeschel's reading, the man may be the Archagathus, son of Archagathus, of chap. 16. 3, and so (reading υἱωνὸν) the grandson of Agathocles.

[2] The site is unknown. E. Pais, *Studi ital. fil. class.* 1 (1893), 125, has proposed the reading Νῆθας, based on the name of the river Neaethus (Strabo, 262).

[3] To Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. Agathocles gave Corcyra for his daughter's dowry (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 9).

[7] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: αὐτὰς H, αὐτοὺς Dindorf.

[8] Reiske suggests πύργον.

καταρράξας, ὡς ἴδον οἱ Κροτωνιᾶται, φόβῳ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ἐδέξαντο τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα καὶ τὸ στράτευμα. εἰσπεσόντες δὲ εἴσω τῆς πόλεως, τὰς μὲν οἰκίας διήρπαζον, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας κατέσφαξαν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὁμόρους βαρβάρους καὶ Ἰάπυγας καὶ Πευκετίους συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο,[1] καὶ ναῦς ληστρικὰς χορηγῶν αὐτοῖς, τὰ μέρη τῶν λειῶν[2] ἐλάμβανε. καὶ φρουρὰν ἀπολείπων εἰς Κρότωνα εἰς Συράκοσαν ἔπλευσεν.

5. Ὅτι Δίυλλος[3] Ἀθηναῖος συγγραφεὺς τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις συντάξας ἔγραψε βιβλία εἴκοσιν ἕξ· Ψάων δὲ ὁ Πλαταιεὺς[4] τὰς ἀπὸ τούτου διαδεξάμενος πράξεις ἔγραψε βίβλία τριάκοντα.

6. Ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τῶν Τυρρηνῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν καὶ Σαμνιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἑτέρων συμμάχων ἀνῃρέθησαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, Φαβίου ὑπατεύοντος, δέκα μυριάδες, ὥς φησι Δοῦρις.[5]

(*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 490 W.)

2 Γράφει τοιοῦτόν τι Δοῦρις, Διόδωρος καὶ Δίων, ὅτι Σαμνητῶν, Τυρρηνῶν καὶ ἑτέρων ἐθνῶν πολεμούντων Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Δέκιος ὕπατος Ῥώμης συστρατηγὸς ὢν Τουρκουάτου οὕτως ἀπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς σφαγὴν καὶ ἀνῃρέθησαν τῶν ἐναντίων ἑκατὸν χιλιάδες αὐθημερόν.

(Tzetzes, on the *Alexandra* of Lycophron, v. 1378.[6])

[1] ἐποιήσατο implied by Rhodoman's translation: ἐποιήσαντο H. [2] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: νεῶν H.
[3] So Wesseling: Δίαλλος H.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: Πλατεὺς H.
[5] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: μυρία δὲ ὡς φασὶ Δουροις H.
[6] Ed. Scheer, Berlin, 1908.

---

[1] Or possibly, "the largest tower": see critical note.
[2] On Diyllus of Athens, whose *Histories* covered the years 357–297 B.C., see Sherman's note on Book 16. 14 and Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 73. Little more is known of Psaon (*FGH*, no. 78) than is related here.

the buildings.[1] When the Crotoniates saw this they were frightened, and opening the gate, received Agathocles and his army, who rushed into the city, plundered the houses, and slew the male inhabitants. With the neighbouring barbarians, both the Iapygians and the Peucetians, Agathocles made an alliance and supplied them with pirate ships, receiving in return a share of their booty. Then, leaving a garrison in Croton, he sailed back to Syracuse.

5. Diyllus, the Athenian historian, compiled a universal history in twenty-six books and Psaon of Plataea wrote a continuation of this work in thirty books.[2]

6. In the war with the Etruscans, Gauls, Samnites, 295 B.C.
and the other allies, the Romans slew one hundred thousand men in the consulship of Fabius,[3] according to Duris.

Something similar [4] is told by Duris, Diodorus, and Dio: that when the Samnites, Etruscans, and the other nations were at war with the Romans, Decius, the Roman consul, colleague of Torquatus,[5] in like manner devoted himself to death, and on that day one hundred thousand of the enemy were slain.

[3] At the battle of Sentinum, 295 B.C. Livy (10. 29. 17) sets the figure of enemy dead at 25,000. The consuls were Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus and P. Decius Mus. For Duris of Samos see Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 76.
[4] Similar, that is, to the exploit of Codrus, who invited death in battle to save his country (cp. Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 84-87).
[5] The consul of 295 B.C. has here been confused with his father, who as consul in 340 had devoted himself in battle against the Latins at Veseris.

7. Ὅτι Ἀντίπατρος διὰ φθόνον τὴν ἰδίαν μητέρα ἀνεῖλε.

Ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ἀδελφὸς Ἀντιπάτρου προσκαλεσάμενος Δημήτριον βασιλέα εἰς βοήθειαν, δολοφονεῖται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὁμοίως καὶ Ἀντίπατρον τὸν μητραλοίαν, ἀδελφὸν τοῦ[1] Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐδολοφόνησεν, οὐ βουλόμενος σύνεδρον ἔχειν τῇ βασιλείᾳ.

8. Ὅτι Ἀγαθοκλῆς συναθροίσας δυνάμεις εἰς Ἰταλίαν διεπέρασεν ἔχων πεζοὺς τρισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς τρισχιλίους. τὴν δὲ ναυτικὴν δύναμιν Στίλπωνι παραδούς, λεηλατεῖν ἐπέταξε τὴν Βρεττίων χώραν· οὗτος πορθῶν τὰς[2] παραθαλασσίους κτήσεις,[3] χειμῶνι περιπεσὼν τὰς πλείους τῶν νηῶν ἀπέβαλε. ὁ δὲ Ἀγαθοκλῆς πολιορκήσας τῶν Ἱππωνιατῶν[4] πόλιν . . .[5] καὶ διὰ μηχανῶν πετροβόλων τῆς πόλεως ἐκυρίευσαν καὶ ταύτην εἷλον. τῶν δὲ Βρεττίων καταπλαγέντων, πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν ὑπὲρ διαλύσεως. καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους ὁμήρους καὶ φρουρὰν ἀπολιπὼν εἰς Συρακόσας ἐπανῆλθεν. οἱ δὲ Βρέττιοι τοῖς ὅρκοις μὴ ἐμμείναντες, ἀλλὰ πανδημεὶ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας στρατιώτας, τούτους κατέκοψαν· τοὺς δὲ ὁμήρους ἀνασώσαντες ἀπελύθησαν τῆς Ἀγαθοκλέους δυναστείας.

(*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 490-491 W.)

[1] So Dindorf: αὐτοῦ H.
[2] πορθῶν τὰς] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: πορθοῦντας H.
[3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: κτίσεις H.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: Ἱππονιακῶν H.

7. Because of envy, Antipater[1] murdered his own mother.

Alexander, the brother of Antipater, was assassinated by King Demetrius, whom he had summoned to aid him. He[2] likewise assassinated Antipater the matricide, the brother of Alexander, not wishing to have a partner in rule. 294 B.C.

8. Agathocles assembled an army and crossed over into Italy with thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. The navy he entrusted to Stilpo with orders to ravage the territory of the Bruttians; but while Stilpo was plundering the estates along the shore, he encountered a storm and lost most of his ships. Agathocles laid siege to Hipponium . . . and by means of stone-throwers they overpowered the city and captured it. This terrified the Bruttians, who sent an embassy to treat for terms. Agathocles, having obtained six hundred hostages from them and having left an occupying force, returned to Syracuse. The Bruttians, however, instead of abiding by their oath, marched out in full force against the soldiers who had been left behind, crushed them, recovered the hostages, and so freed themselves from the domination of Agathocles. c. 294 B.C.

[1] Antipater I, son of Cassander and Thessalonicê. After the death of Cassander and his eldest son Philip IV in 298 B.C., Thessalonicê had arranged a division of the kingdom between her younger sons, Antipater and Alexander (cp. Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 36; *Pyrrhus*, 6-7).

[2] The subject appears to be Demetrius, but Antipater was in fact assassinated, in 287 B.C., by Lysimachus, his father-in-law (cp. Justin, 16. 2).

[5] Lacuna indicated by Walton. Editors since Wesseling, following the suggestion of Hoeschel and Rhodoman, print ἐκυρίευσε and εἷλε.

9. Ὅτι Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεὺς λαβὼν ὑποχειρίους ἅπαντας τοὺς κατ' αὐτοῦ βλασφημεῖν εἰωθότας ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ πάντα κατ' αὐτοῦ πράττειν φιλαπεχθημόνως ἀφῆκεν ἀθῴους, ἐπιφθεγξάμενος ὅτι συγγνώμη τιμωρίας αἱρετωτέρα.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 345; last three words, *Exc. Hoesch.* p. 491 W.)

10. Ὅτι οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀγόντων στρατόπεδα, καθ' οὓς ἂν καιροὺς ἐν ἀτυχήμασιν ὑπάρχωσι μεγάλοις, ἀκολουθοῦσι ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ὁρμαῖς φοβούμενοι τὰς ἐναντιώσεις αὐτῶν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 345; *Exc. Hoesch.* p. 491 W.)

11. Ὅτι οἱ Θρᾷκες τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα λαβόντες αἰχμάλωτον ἀπέστειλαν μετὰ δώρων, ἅμα μὲν πρὸς τὰ παράδοξα τῆς τύχης ἑαυτοῖς παρασκευάζοντες καταφυγάς, ἅμα δὲ διὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ταύτης ἐλπίζοντες ἀπολήψεσθαι τὴν ἀφῃρημένην αὐτῶν χώραν ὑπὸ Λυσιμάχου. οὐκέτι γὰρ ἤλπιζον αὐτοὺς δύνασθαι κρατῆσαι τῷ πολέμῳ, συμπεφρονηκότων ἁπάντων σχεδὸν τῶν δυνατωτάτων βασιλέων καὶ συμμαχούντων ἀλλήλοις. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 253.)

12. Ὅτι ὑπὸ σιτοδείας πιεζομένης τῆς τοῦ Λυσιμάχου στρατιᾶς,[1] καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ συμβουλευόντων σώζειν[2] ὅπως ποτὲ δύναται καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τούτοις ἀπεκρίθη μὴ δίκαιον εἶναι καταλιπόντα τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἰδίᾳ[3] σωτηρίαν αἰσχρὰν πορίζεσθαι. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 345.)

[1] So Dindorf: στρατείας V.
[2] Dindorf suggests σώζεσθαι or ἑαυτὸν σώζειν.
[3] So Dindorf: ἰδίαν V.

9. King Demetrius, after arresting all who habitually defamed him in the public assemblies and contentiously opposed him in all things, let them go unharmed, remarking that pardon is better than punishment.[1]

10. Most leaders of armies, when confronted with serious reverses, follow the urgings of the mob rather than risk its opposition.

11. The Thracians captured Agathocles,[2] the king's son, but sent him home with gifts, partly to prepare for themselves a refuge against the surprises of Fortune, partly in the hope of recovering through this act of humanity that part of their territory which Lysimachus had seized. For they no longer hoped to be able to prevail in the war, since almost all the most powerful kings were now in agreement, and were in military alliance one with another.

12. When the army of Lysimachus was hard pressed for food,[3] and his friends kept advising him to save himself as best he could and not to hope for safety in the encampment, he replied to them that it was not honourable to provide a disgraceful safety for himself by abandoning his army and his friends. 292 B.C.

[1] The proverbial saying, "Forgiveness is better than punishment" (or "revenge"), is ascribed by Diogenes Laertius, 1. 76, to Pittacus, on the occasion of pardoning his enemy, the poet Alcaeus. Diodorus cites it repeatedly, *e.g. infra*, chap. 14. 3 and Book 31. 3.
[2] Agathocles, son of Lysimachus. The exact occasion is uncertain.
[3] In 292 B.C. Lysimachus crossed the Danube and attacked the Getae.

2 Ὅτι ὁ Δρομιχαίτης ὁ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεὺς κατὰ πάντα τὸν Λυσίμαχον τὸν βασιλέα δεξιωσάμενος καὶ φιλήσας, ἔτι δὲ πατέρα προσαγορεύσας, ἀπήγαγε μετὰ τῶν τέκνων εἰς πόλιν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἧλιν.

3 Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Λυσιμάχου δυνάμεως συνδραμόντων τῶν Θρᾳκῶν καὶ βοώντων ἄγειν εἰς τὸ μέσον τὸν ἡλωκότα βασιλέα πρὸς τὴν κόλασιν—δεῖν γὰρ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τὸ τῶν κινδύνων μετεσχηκὸς πλῆθος βουλεύσασθαι πῶς χρηστέον ἐστὶν τοῖς ἡλωκόσιν—ὁ μὲν Δρομιχαίτης περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἀντειπὼν ἐδίδαξε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὅτι συμφέρει σῶσαι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀναιρεθέντος μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς ἄλλους καταλήψεσθαι τὴν Λυσιμάχου δυναστείαν, φοβερωτέρους,[1] ἂν τύχῃ, τοῦ προϋπάρξαντος· διαφυλαχθέντος δὲ χάριν ἕξειν[2] ὀφειλομένην τοῖς Θρᾳξὶ παρὰ τοῦ σωθέντος, καὶ τὰ φρούρια τὰ πρότερον ὑπάρξαντα Θρᾳκῶν ἀπο-
4 λήψεσθαι χωρὶς κινδύνων. συγκαταθεμένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους, ὁ Δρομιχαίτης ἀναζητήσας ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Λυσιμάχου καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν θεραπείαν εἰωθότας διατρίβειν, ἀπήγαγε πρὸς τὸν ἡλωκότα βασιλέα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συντελέσας θυσίαν παρέλαβεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίασιν τόν τε Λυσίμαχον μετὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων καὶ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους. διττὰς δὲ κλισίας[3] κατασκευάσας τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὸν Λυσίμαχον ἔστρωσε τὴν ἁλοῦσαν βασιλικὴν στρωμνήν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ καὶ
5 τοῖς φίλοις εὐτελῆ στιβάδα. ὁμοίως δὲ διττῶν ἑτοιμασθέντων δείπνων, ἐκείνοις μὲν παντοδαπῶν

[1] φοβερωτέρους Dindorf: φοβερωτέραν οὖσαν P.
[2] Wesseling suggests ἥξειν.

Dromichaetes, the king of the Thracians, having given King Lysimachus every mark of welcome, having kissed him, and even called him "Father," then brought him and his children to a city called Helis.

After the capture of the army of Lysimachus, the Thracians assembling in haste shouted that the captured king should be brought into their midst for punishment. It was but right, they cried, that the multitude who had shared the hazard of battle should debate and decide what was to be done with the prisoners. Dromichaetes spoke against punishing the king and pointed out to the soldiers the advantages of preserving his life. Were he to be executed, he said, other kings, possibly more to be feared than their predecessor, would assume the authority of Lysimachus. If, on the other hand, his life were spared, he would owe a debt of gratitude to the Thracians, and with no hazard to themselves they would recover the forts that had formerly been Thracian. When the multitude had given its approval to this policy, Dromichaetes searched out from among the prisoners the friends of Lysimachus and those who were accustomed to be in constant attendance upon him, and led them to the captive monarch. Then, having offered sacrifice, he invited Lysimachus and his friends to the banquet, together with the most suitable Thracians. He prepared two sets of couches, using for the company of Lysimachus the royal drapery that formed part of the spoils, but for himself and his friends cheap beds of straw. In like manner, he had two different meals prepared, and set before his foreign guests a prodigal array of all

[3] So Salmasius, Valesius: κηλησίας P.

πολυτέλειαν βρωμάτων παρέθηκεν ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἀργυρᾶς, τοῖς δὲ Θρᾳξὶ λάχανα καὶ κρέα[1] μετρίως ἐσκευασμένα, ἐπὶ[2] σανίδος εὐτελοῦς ἐπικειμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς τραπέζης. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον τοῖς μὲν ἐνέχει τὸν οἶνον ἀργυροῖς καὶ χρυσοῖς ποτηρίοις, τοῖς δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ κερατίνοις καὶ ξυλίνοις, καθάπερ ἦν ἔθος τοῖς Γέταις. προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ πότου πληρώσας τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κεράτων καὶ προσαγορεύσας πατέρα τὸν Λυσίμαχον ἠρώτησε πότερον αὐτῷ δοκεῖ[3] δεῖπνον βασιλικώτερον, τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἢ τὸ Θρᾴκιον. τοῦ δὲ Λυσιμάχου τὸ Μακεδονικὸν εἰπόντος (Ζήτει εἰς τὸ Περὶ Γνωμῶν).

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 253-254.)

6 Ὅτι τοῦ Δρομιχαίτου τὸν Λυσίμαχον ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κεκληκότος καὶ προβαίνοντος τοῦ πότου, πληρώσας τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κεράτων καὶ προσαγορεύσας πατέρα τὸν Λυσίμαχον ἠρώτησε πότερον αὐτῷ δοκεῖ δεῖπνον εἶναι βασιλικώτερον, τὸ Μακεδονικὸν ἢ τὸ Θρᾴκιον. τοῦ δὲ Λυσιμάχου τὸ Μακεδονικὸν εἰπόντος, Τί οὖν, ἔφη, νόμιμα τοιαῦτα καὶ βίον λαμπρὸν ἀπολιπών, ἔτι δὲ ἐπιφανεστέραν βασιλείαν, ἐπεθύμεις εἰς ἀνθρώπους παραγενέσθαι βαρβάρους καὶ ζῶντας θηριώδη βίον καὶ χώραν δυσχείμερον καὶ σπανίζουσαν ἡμέρων καρπῶν, ἐβιάσω δὲ παρὰ φύσιν ἀγαγεῖν δύναμιν εἰς τόπους τοιούτους ἐν οἷς ξενικὴ δύναμις ὑπαίθριος οὐ δύναται διασῴζεσθαι; εἰπόντος δὲ πάλιν πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ Λυσιμάχου διότι τὰ μὲν περὶ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν ἠγνόησεν, εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν πειράσεται φίλος ὢν συμμαχεῖν καὶ χάριτος ἀποδόσει μὴ λειφθῆναι τῶν εὖ πεποιηκότων, ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως ὁ Δρομιχαίτης παρέλαβε τῶν χωρίων τὰ παραιρεθέντα

[1] So Valesius: κρέας P.
[2] Wifstrand suggests ἐκ for ἐπί.
[3] P has τὸ after δοκεῖ.

kinds of viands, served on a silver table, while before the Thracians was placed a modestly prepared dish of herbs and meat, their meal being set out upon a cheap board. Finally, for his guests he poured out wine in gold and silver cups, but for his fellow-countrymen, as was the custom of the Getae, in cups of horn or wood. After they had been drinking some time, he filled the largest of the drinking-horns, and addressing Lysimachus as "Father," asked him which banquet seemed more fit for kings, the Macedonian or the Thracian. Lysimachus replied: "The Macedonian."[1] "Why then," he asked, "forsaking such ways, a splendid manner of life, and a more glorious kingdom as well, did you desire to come among men who are barbarous and lead a bestial existence, and to a wintry land deficient in cultivated grains and fruit? Why did you force a way against nature to bring an army into such a place as this, where no foreign force can survive in the open?" In reply Lysimachus said that in regard to this campaign he had acted blindly; but for the future he would endeavour to aid him as a friend, and not to fall short in returning kindness for kindness. Dromichaetes received these words graciously, obtained the

[1] At this point the narrative breaks off in the collection *De Virtutibus et Vitiis* with a reference to the collection *De Sententiis*. There, with some repetition, the sequel is given, introduced by the words: "When Dromichaetes had invited Lysimachus to a banquet."

ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ περιθεὶς αὐτῷ[1] διάδημα ἐξαπέστειλεν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 345-346.)

13. Οὗτος ὁ Ξερμοδίγεστος, Διόδωρος ὡς γράφει,
οἶμαι τοῦ Αὐδολέοντος Παιόνων βασιλέως
φίλος τελῶν πιστότατος, τοὺς θησαυροὺς μηνύει
ἢ Λυσιμάχῳ ἤ τινι τῆς Θρᾴκης βασιλέων·
ἀργαλέον δέ μοί ἐστι θεὸν ὥς πάντ' ἀγορεύειν
ἀβίβλῃ πεφυκότι μοι· οἴδατε οἶσπερ λέγω·
τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐμήνυσε τῷ Θρᾴκης στεφηφόρῳ
τοῦ Σαργεντίου ποταμοῦ κάτωθεν κεκρυμμένους,
τοὺς οὓς αὐτὸς κατέκρυπτε σὺν αἰχμαλώτοις μόνοις,
τρέπων τὴν κοίτην ποταμοῦ καὶ κατορύττων κάτω,
εἶτα τὸν ῥοῦν ἐπαφιείς, τοὺς δ' αἰχμαλώτους σφάττων. (Tzetzes, *Hist.* 6. 470-480.[2])

14. Ὅτι Δημήτριος ὁ βασιλεύς, τὸ δεύτερον ἀποστατησάντων Θηβαίων,[3] πολιορκίᾳ τὰ τείχη καθελών, τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος εἷλε, δέκα μόνους ἄνδρας ἀνελὼν τοὺς τὴν ἀποστασίαν κατεργαζομένους. (*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 491 W.)

2 Ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Δημήτριος[4] παραλαβὼν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, προσηνέχθη τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς μεγαλοψύχως. πλὴν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν δέκα καὶ τεττάρων τῶν αἰτιωτάτων τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέλυσε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἅπαντας. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 254.)

3 Ὅτι ἐπὶ πολλῶν τὸ θυμομαχεῖν εἰς τέλος χαρι-

[1] So Mai: αὐτὸν V.
[2] Ed. Kiessling, Leipzig, 1826.

return of the districts that Lysimachus had seized, placed a diadem on his head, and sent him on his way.

13. This Xermodigestus, as Diodorus writes, ranking as the most trusted friend, I think, of Audoleon, king of the Paeonians, reveals the treasures to Lysimachus, or to some other king of Thrace ('tis difficult for me, without books as I am, to relate all, like a god[1]; you to whom I speak know). He revealed to the crowned head of Thrace the treasures hidden beneath the river Sargentius, which he himself, aided only by captives, had buried, turning aside the river bed, and burying the treasure beneath, then letting in the stream, and slaying the captives.[2]

14. King Demetrius laid siege to Thebes when it revolted a second time, demolished the walls with siege engines, and took the city by storm, but put to death only the ten men who were responsible for the revolt. 291 B.C.

King Demetrius, having gained possession of the other cities also, dealt generously with the Boeotians; for he dismissed the charges against all except the fourteen men who were chiefly responsible for the revolt.

In many cases one should decline to fight to the

[1] Cp. Homer, *Iliad*, 12. 176.
[2] Much the same tale is told of Trajan's enemy Decebalus, king of the Dacians (Dio Cassius, 68. 14. 4-5; cp. Tzetzes, *Hist.* 2. 61), and of Alaric (Jordanes, *Get.* 158, chap. 30). Since the Dacian river bears the suspiciously similar name of Sargetia or Sargentia, it is possible that Tzetzes has wrongly introduced the story here.—An Athenian decree of 288 B.C. (*IG*, 2.[2] 654) honours Audoleon for his benefactions to the city.

[3] So Rhodoman: ἀποστατήσαντος Θηβῶν H.
[4] So Valesius: Δρομιχαίτης P.

ζομένους τῷ θυμῷ παραιτητέον· συμφέρει γὰρ ἐνίοτε διαλύεσθαι καὶ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ καθόλου προκρίνειν τῆς τιμωρίας τὴν συγγνώμην. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 346.)

15. Ὅτι Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἀπέστειλεν Ἀγαθοκλῆ τὸν υἱὸν πρὸς Δημήτριον τὸν βασιλέα φιλίαν συνθέσθαι καὶ συμμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀσμένως δεξάμενος τὸν νεανίσκον, στολὴν περιτιθεὶς βασιλικὴν καὶ δῶρα δοὺς μεγαλοπρεπῆ, συναπέστειλεν Ὀξύθεμιν,[1] τῶν φίλων ἕνα, τῷ[2] μὲν δοκεῖν τὰ πιστὰ λαβεῖν τῆς συμμαχίας, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ κατασκεψόμενον τὴν Σικελίαν. (*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 491 W.)

16. [Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς καταστροφῆς Ἀγαθοκλέους, ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους ἔλθωμεν αὐτῆς,[3] τὸ γενόμενον βεβαιώσει τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον.] (Diod. 20. 101. 4.)

Ὅτι Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς πολὺν χρόνον εἰρηνεύων πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, μεγάλην ἐπεποίητο παρασκευάσιν ναυτικῶν δυνάμεων· διενοεῖτο γὰρ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην διαβιβάζειν στρατόπεδα, καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἴργειν τοὺς Φοίνικας τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν Σαρδῶν καὶ Σικελῶν σιτοπομπιῶν. καὶ ἐν τῷ προγεγονότι κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην πολέμῳ θαλαττοκρατοῦντες οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι διέσωσαν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων τὴν πατρίδα. εἶχε δὲ ναῦς Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξηρτυμένας διακοσίας τετρήρεις καὶ ἑξήρεις· ὅμως εἰς πέρας τὴν προαίρεσιν οὐκ ἤνεγκε διὰ τοιαύτας
2 αἰτίας. Μένων[4] ἦν Αἰγεσταῖος[5] τὸ γένος· ἐν δὲ τῇ καταλήψει τῆς πατρίδος ἡλωκὼς δοῦλος ἐγένετο[6] διὰ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ σώματος τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ

[1] So Rhodoman: Ὀξυθέμην H.
[2] So Rhodoman: τὸ H.

bitter end, indulging one's wrath. For sometimes it is expedient to come to terms, to pay a price for security, and in general to rate forgiveness above revenge.

15. Agathocles sent his son Agathocles to King Demetrius to arrange a treaty of friendship and alliance. The king welcomed the young man warmly, dressed him in princely robes, and gave him magnificent gifts. He sent back with him Oxythemis, one of his friends, ostensibly to receive pledges of the alliance, in reality to spy out Sicily.

16. [But as for the death of Agathocles, when we come to its place in the narrative, what actually occurred will confirm what has just been said.][1]

King Agathocles, who had remained on terms of peace with the Carthaginians for a long time, had now made extensive naval preparations; for he intended to transport an army once again to Libya and with his ships to prevent the Phoenicians from importing grain from Sardinia and Sicily. Indeed, in the preceding war with Libya, it was by control of the sea that the Carthaginians had brought their country safely out of danger. King Agathocles now had, fully equipped, two hundred ships, quadriremes and sexremes. Nevertheless, he did not carry out his project for the following reasons. There was a certain Menon, a Segestan by birth, who was taken captive on the seizure of his native city,[2] and became the king's slave because of the beauty of his person.

[1] See below, note on chap. 16. 5.
[2] In 307 B.C. (see Book 20. 71).

[3] So Hertlein: αὐτοῦ.
[4] So Wesseling (throughout): Μαίνων H.
[5] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: Αἰγυπταῖος H.
[6] So Dindorf: ἐγίνετο H.

μέχρι μέν τινος εὐδοκεῖν[1] προσεποιεῖτο, τῶν ἐρωμένων καὶ φίλων εἷς ἀριθμούμενος· διὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος συμφορὰν καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ὕβριν ὑπούλως ἔχων πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην, καιρὸν ἔλαβε τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίας. ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς ἤδη γεγηρακὼς τὰς ὑπαίθρους[2] δυνάμεις Ἀρχαγάθῳ παραδεδώκει.
3 οὗτος δὲ ἦν Ἀρχαγάθου μὲν[3] υἱὸς τοῦ κατὰ Λιβύην σφαγέντος, υἱωνὸς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγαθοκλέους, ἀνδρείᾳ δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς εὐτολμίᾳ πολὺ τοῦ κατὰ λόγον ὑπεραίρων. . . .[4] στρατοπεδεύοντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν Αἴτνην, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς βουλόμενος προάγειν[5] ἐπὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς βασιλείας τὸν υἱὸν Ἀγαθοκλῆ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις[6] συνέστησε τὸν νεανίσκον, ἀποφαινόμενος διάδοχον ἀπολείψειν τῆς ἀρχῆς· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. γράψας ἐπιστολὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχάγαθον, προσέταξε τούτῳ[7] παραδιδόναι τὰς πεζικὰς καὶ ναυτικὰς δυνάμεις. δι' ἃς αἰτίας[8] ὁ μὲν Ἀρχάγαθος ὁρῶν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς ἕτερον καταντῶσαν, ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιβουλεῦσαι[9] διέγνω. πρὸς Μένωνα τὸν Αἰγεσταῖον διαπεμψάμενος ἔπεισεν ἀνελεῖν τὸν βασιλέα διὰ φαρμάκου, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔν τινι νήσῳ θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσας,[10] καὶ καταπλεύσαντα τὸν νεώτερον Ἀγαθοκλέα παραλαβὼν πρὸς τὴν εὐωχίαν, νυκτὸς καταμεθύσας ἀπέσφαξε.

[1] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman : εὐδοκιμεῖν H.
[2] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman : ὑπέθρους H.
[3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman : μένων H.
[4] Cp. chap. 16. 7.

For a while he pretended to be content, being reckoned among the king's favourites and friends ; but the disaster to his city and the outrage to his person produced a rankling enmity to the king, and he seized an opportunity to take his revenge. Now the king, being now well advanced in years, had entrusted the command of his forces in the field to Archagathus. He was the son of the Archagathus who was killed in Libya, and thus the grandson of King Agathocles ; in manliness and fortitude he far surpassed ordinary expectations.[1] While he was encamped near Etna, the king, wishing to promote his son Agathocles as successor to the throne, first of all presented the young man at Syracuse, and declared that he would leave him heir to his power ; he then sent him to the camp. To Archagathus he wrote a letter, ordering him to hand over to Agathocles both the land and naval forces. When Archagathus thus perceived that another was to fall heir to the kingdom, he resolved to lay a plot for both men. He sent word to Menon the Segestan, and persuaded him to poison the king. He himself offered sacrifice on a certain island, and when the younger Agathocles put in there, invited him to the feast, plied him with drink, and murdered him during the night. The body was

[1] A few words are probably omitted ; see the parallel passage given at the end of the chapter.

[5] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman : προσάγειν H.
[6] Hoeschel, Rhodoman suggest τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Σ., Reiske τοῖς Συρακουσίοις.
[7] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman : τοῦτον H.
[8] αἰτίας added by Hoeschel, Rhodoman ; Wesseling suggests δι' ἅ.
[9] So Rhodoman : ἐπιβουλῆσαι H.
[10] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman : ἐπιτελεύσας H.

τοῦ δὲ σώματος ῥιφθέντος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐκβρασθέντος,[1] ἐπιγνόντες τινὲς ἀπεκόμισαν εἰς Συρακόσας.

4 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εἰωθὼς μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀεὶ πτερῷ διακαθαίρεσθαι τοὺς ὀδόντας, ἀπολυθεὶς τοῦ πότου τὸν Μένωνα τὸ πτερὸν ᾔτησεν. εἶτα ὁ μὲν φαρμάκῳ σηπτικῷ[2] χρίσας ἀπέδωκεν, ὁ δὲ χρησάμενος αὐτῷ φιλοτιμότερον διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἥψατο πανταχόθεν τῆς περὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας σαρκός. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πόνοι συνεχεῖς ἐγένοντο καὶ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐπιτάσεις ἀλγηδόνων, ἔπειτα σηπεδόνες ἀνίατοι πάντῃ τοὺς ὀδόντας περιεῖχον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς γενόμενος ἐκκλησιάσας τὸν λαὸν κατηγόρησε τῆς ἀσεβείας Ἀρχαγάθου, καὶ τὰ μὲν πλήθη παρώξυνε πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ[3] τιμωρίαν, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ τὴν δημο-
5 κρατίαν ἔφησεν ἀποδιδόναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν βασιλέα διακείμενον ἐσχάτως ἤδη κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς Ὀξύθεμις ὁ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ κατέκαυσεν ὄντα μὲν ἔμπνουν ἔτι, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς περὶ τὴν σηπεδόνα συμφορᾶς οὐ δυνάμενον φωνὴν προΐεσθαι.[4] Ἀγαθοκλῆς μὲν πλείστους καὶ ποικιλωτάτους φόνους ἐπιτελεσάμενος κατὰ τὴν δυναστείαν, καὶ τῇ κατὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ὠμότητι προσθεὶς καὶ τὴν εἰς θεοὺς ἀσέβειαν, πρέπουσαν παρέσχε τῇ παρανομίᾳ τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφήν, δυναστεύσας μὲν ἔτη δύο τῶν τριάκοντα λείποντα, βιώσας δὲ δύο πρὸς τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη, καθὼς Τίμαιος ὁ Συρακόσιος

[1] ἐκβρασθέντος added by Hoeschel, Rhodoman.
[2] So Wesseling: στηπτικῷ H.
[3] So Post: αὐτὴν H, αὐτοῦ Hoeschel, Rhodoman.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: προεῖσθαι H.

thrown into the sea, and was washed ashore by the waves, where certain men recognized it and carried it to Syracuse.

Now it was the king's habit after dinner always to clean his teeth with a quill. Having finished his wine, therefore, he asked Menon for the quill, and Menon gave him one that he had smeared with a putrefactive drug. The king, unaware of this, applied it rather vigorously and so brought it into contact with the gums all about his teeth. The first effect was a continuous pain, which grew daily more excruciating, and this was followed by an incurable gangrene everywhere near the teeth.[1] As he lay dying, he 289 B.C. summoned the populace, denounced Archagathus for his impiety, aroused the masses to avenge him, and declared that he restored to the people their self-government. Then, when the king was already at the point of death, Oxythemis, the envoy of King Demetrius, placed him on the pyre and burned him, still alive, but because of the characteristic ravages of his affliction unable to utter a sound.[2] Agathocles had committed numerous and most varied acts of slaughter during his reign, and since to his cruelty towards his own people he added impiety towards the gods, the manner of his death was appropriate to his lawless life. He lived for seventy-two years and ruled for twenty-eight, according to Timaeus

[1] It is generally assumed that the fatal illness was, in fact, a cancer of the mouth. Justin's account (23. 2) of his death is quite different and in part more trustworthy (cp. Berve, *op. cit.* p. 75).
[2] This is the punishment, ascribed to the wrath of Hephaestus, that is alluded to in Book 20. 101.

συγγράφει, καὶ Καλλίας καὶ αὐτὸς Συρακούσιος,[1] εἴκοσι δύο βίβλους συγγράψας, καὶ Ἄντανδρος ὁ
6 ἀδελφὸς Ἀγαθοκλέους καὶ αὐτὸς συγγραφεύς. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τῆς δημοκρατίας τυχόντες τὴν Ἀγαθοκλέους οὐσίαν ἐδήμευσαν, τὰς δὲ εἰκόνας τὰς ἀνατεθείσας[2] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατέσπασαν. Μένων δὲ ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας τῷ βασιλεῖ διέτριβεν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχάγαθον, πεφευγὼς ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσῶν· πεφρονηματισμένος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ[3] δοκεῖν καταλελυκέναι τὴν βασιλείαν, τὸν μὲν Ἀρχάγαθον ἐδολοφόνησε, τοῦ δὲ στρατοπέδου κυριεύσας καὶ τὰ πλήθη λόγοις φιλανθρώποις ἰδιοποιησάμενος, διέγνω πολεμεῖν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις καὶ δυναστείας ἀντέχεσθαι.[4] (*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 491-493 W.)

7 Ὅτι Ἀγάθαρχος ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ ψυχῆς εὐτολμίᾳ πολὺ τοῦ κατὰ λόγον ὑπεραίρων τῆς ἰδίας ἡλικίας· ἦν γὰρ παντελῶς νέος. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 254.)

17. Ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἱστορικὸς[5] τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῶν πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ συγγραφέων πικρότατα ἐλέγξας κατὰ μὲν τἄλλα μέρη τῆς γραφῆς πλείστην πρόνοιαν εἶχε τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀγαθοκλέους πράξεσι τὰ πολλὰ κατέψευσται[6] τοῦ δυνάστου διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθραν. φυγαδευθεὶς γὰρ ὑπ' Ἀγαθοκλέους ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας, ζῶντα μὲν ἀμύνασθαι τὸν δυνάστην οὐκ ἴσχυσε, τελευτήσαντα δὲ διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας

[1] Jacoby, in part after Wurm, suggests: Τίμαιος ὁ [Συρακόσιος] συγγραφεὺς καὶ Καλλίας [καὶ αὐτὸς] Συρακούσιος.
[2] So Wesseling: ἀνατιθείσας H.
[3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: τὸ H.
[4] So Wesseling: ἀνέχεται H, ἀντέχεται Hoeschel, Rhodoman.

of Syracuse, Callias, another Syracusan, the author of twenty-two books, and Antander, the brother of Agathocles, who was himself a historian.[1] The Syracusans, upon the recovery of their popular government, confiscated the property of Agathocles and pulled down the statues that he had set up. Menon, who had plotted against the king, stayed with Archagathus, having fled from Syracuse. He was puffed up, however, by the credit that he enjoyed as overthrower of the kingdom; he assassinated Archagathus, gained control of the camp, and, having won over the masses by expressions of goodwill, determined to wage war on Syracuse and to claim for himself the chief power.

In manliness and fortitude Agatharchus[2] was much in advance of his years, for he was extremely young.

17. This historian,[3] who had so sharply rebuked earlier historians for their errors, showed very high regard for the truth in the rest of his writings, but the greater part of his history of Agathocles consists of lying propaganda against the ruler because of personal enmity. For since he was banished from Sicily by Agathocles and could not strike back while the monarch lived, after his death he defamed him

[1] Nothing else is known of Antander's history (Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 565). For Timaeus (of Tauromenium, not Syracuse!) and Callias see chap. 17.
[2] For the confusion of names see the note on chap. 3.
[3] Timaeus of Tauromenium (357/40–261/44 B.C.); the fragments are collected in Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 566. Polybius devotes nearly the whole of Book 12 to an even more scathing attack on Timaeus (12. 15 for his treatment of Agathocles).

[5] οὗτος ἱστορικὸς P, οὗτος ὁ Τίμαιος Suidas.
[6] κατεψεῦσθαι (*s. acc.*) P.

2 ἐβλασφήμησεν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. καθόλου γὰρ ταῖς προϋπαρχούσαις τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ κακίαις ἄλλα πολλὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσθεὶς ὁ συγγραφεύς, τὰς μὲν εὐημερίας ἀφαιρούμενος αὐτοῦ, τὰς δὲ ἀποτεύξεις, οὐ τὰς δι' αὐτὸν μόνον γενομένας,[1] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διὰ τύχην μεταφέρων εἰς τὸν μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτόντα.[2] γενομένου δὲ ὁμολογουμένως αὐτοῦ στρατηγικοῦ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, δραστικοῦ δὲ καὶ τεθαρρηκότος κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις εὐτολμίαν, οὐ διαλείπει παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀποκαλῶν αὐτὸν ἄνανδρον καὶ δειλόν. καίτοι γε τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι τῶν πώποτε δυναστευσάντων οὐδεὶς ἐλάττοσιν ἀφορμαῖς χρησάμενος μείζω βασιλείαν περιεποιήσατο; χειροτέχνης γὰρ ἐκ παίδων γενόμενος δι' ἀπορίαν βίου καὶ πατέρων ἀδοξίαν, ἐξ ὑστέρου διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν οὐ μόνον Σικελίας σχεδὸν[3] ὅλης ἐκυρίευσεν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας τε καὶ
3 Λιβύης τοῖς ὅπλοις κατεστρέψατο. θαυμάσαι δ' ἄν τις τοῦ συγγραφέως τὴν εὐχέρειαν[4]· παρ' ὅλην γὰρ τὴν γραφὴν ἐγκωμιάζων τὴν τῶν Συρακουσίων ἀνδρείαν, τὸν τούτων κρατήσαντα δειλίᾳ φησὶ διενηνοχέναι τοὺς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους. διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐναντιώσεσιν ἐλέγχων φανερός ἐστι τὸ φιλάληθες τῆς ἱστορικῆς παρρησίας προδεδωκὼς ἰδίας ἕνεκεν ἔχθρας καὶ φιλονικίας. διόπερ τὰς ἐσχάτας τῆς συντάξεως πέντε βίβλους τοῦ συγγραφέως τούτου, καθ' ἃς περιείληφε τὰς Ἀγαθοκλέους πράξεις, οὐκ ἄν τις δικαίως ἀποδέξαιτο.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 254–255 ; Suidas, *s.v.* Τίμαιος.)

4 Ὅτι καὶ Καλλίας ὁ Συρακούσιος δικαίως ἂν[5] καὶ προσηκόντως κατηγορίας ἀξιωθείη. ἀναληφθεὶς

[1] γενομένας μόνον Suidas.

in his history for all time. For, in general, to the bad qualities that this king did in fact possess the historian adds others of his own invention. He strips him of his successes, leaving him his failures—not only those for which the king was himself responsible, but even those due to ill luck, which he transfers to the score of one who was not at all at fault. And though it is generally agreed that the king was a shrewd strategist, and that he was energetic and confident where courage in battle was called for, yet Timaeus throughout his history incessantly calls him a poltroon and coward. Yet who does not know that of all men who ever came to power, none acquired a greater kingdom with fewer resources ? Reared from childhood as an artisan because of scant means and humble parentage, he later, thanks to his own ability, not only became master of nearly all Sicily, but even reduced by arms much of Italy and Libya. One may well marvel at the nonchalance of the historian, who throughout his work praises the people of Syracuse for their courage, but says that he who mastered them surpasses all men in cowardice. The evidence of these contradictions shows clearly that he deserted the honest standard of historical candour to gratify his personal animosity and contentiousness. Consequently we cannot fairly accept the last five books of this writer's history, in which he covers the deeds of Agathocles.

Likewise Callias of Syracuse[1] might justly and fittingly be held liable to censure. For ever since he

[1] For Callias see Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 564.

[2] ἐξαμαρτάνοντα Suidas.
[3] Suidas omits σχεδὸν.
[4] εὐχειρίαν Suidas.
[5] ἂν added by Dindorf, Herwerden.

γὰρ ὑπ' Ἀγαθοκλέους καὶ δώρων μεγάλων ἀποδόμενος τὴν προφῆτιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἱστορίαν, οὐ διαλέλοιπεν ἀδίκως ἐγκωμιάζων τὸν μισθοδότην. οὐκ ὀλίγων γὰρ αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων πρὸς ἀσεβείας θεῶν καὶ παρανομίας ἀνθρώπων, φησὶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς αὐτὸν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ πολὺ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερβεβληκέναι.[1] καθόλου δὲ καθάπερ Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἀφαιρούμενος τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐδωρεῖτο τῷ συγγραφεῖ μηδὲν προσήκοντα παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, οὕτως ὁ θαυμαστὸς ἱστοριογράφος ἐχαρίζετο διὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἅπαντα τἀγαθὰ τῷ δυνάστῃ. ῥᾴδιον δ' ἦν, οἶμαι, πρὸς ἄμειψιν χάριτος τῷ γραφεῖ[2] τῶν ἐγκωμίων μὴ λειφθῆναι τῆς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ γένους δωροδοκίας.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 255 ; Suidas, *s.v.* Καλλίας.)

18. Ὅτι Ἱκέταν στρατηγὸν ἀπέλυσαν Συρακόσιοι μετὰ δυνάμεως πρὸς Μένωνα[3] πολεμῆσαι. καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος διεπολέμει, φυγομαχούντων τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ εἰς παράταξιν οὐδαμῶς καταβαινόντων. τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων συνεπιλαβομένων τοῖς περὶ Μένωνα, πολὺ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ὑπερεχόντων, ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι δόντες ὁμήρους τοῖς Φοίνιξι τετρακοσίους διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ καταγαγεῖν τοὺς φυγάδας. τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων ἀτιμαζομένων ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις,[4] συνέβη στάσεως πληρωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν. διαστάντων[5] οὖν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τῶν τε Συρακοσίων καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων, οἱ πρεσβῦται διαπρεσβευσάμενοι καὶ πολλὰ δεηθέντες ἀμφοτέρων μόγις κατέπαυσαν τὴν ταραχὴν ἐπὶ τῷ[6] τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐν τακτῷ χρόνῳ τὰς

was taken up by Agathocles and for a great price in gifts sold into bondage Madam History, the mouthpiece of truth, he has never ceased singing dishonest praises of his paymaster. Thus, although Agathocles' acts of impiety to the gods and of lawlessness to men were not few, yet the historian says that he far surpassed other men in piety and humanity. In general, just as Agathocles robbed the citizens of their goods and gave to the historian, contrary to all justice, what was not his to give, so this remarkable chronicler employed his pen to endow the monarch with all the virtues. It was quite easy, no doubt, in this exchange of favours for the writer not to let his praises fall short of the bribery coming from the royal family.

18. The people of Syracuse dispatched Hicetas as general with an army to conduct the war against Menon. For a while he carried on the war, so long as the enemy avoided action and refused to face them in battle. But when the Carthaginians, with their vastly superior forces, began to aid Menon, the Syracusans were compelled to give four hundred hostages to the Phoenicians, to make an end of hostilities, and to restore the exiles. Then, because the mercenaries were not allowed to vote in the elections, the city was filled with civil strife. Both the Syracusans and the mercenaries had recourse to arms, and it was only with difficulty that the Elders, after long negotiations and many appeals to both factions, ended the disturbance on the condition that within a set time the 289 B.C.

---

[1] ὑπερβεβηκέναι Suidas. [2] γραφείῳ P.
[3] So Wesseling (throughout): Μαίνωνα H.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἀρχιερίαις H.
[5] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: διαστάντες H.
[6] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: τὸ H.

ἑαυτῶν κτήσεις[1] ἀποδομένους ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας. τούτων δὲ κυρωθέντων, οἱ μὲν ξένοι κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἐκλιπόντες τὰς Συρακόσας καὶ παραγενηθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμόν, ὑπεδέχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ὡς ἂν φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι. ὑπὸ δὲ[2] τῶν πολιτῶν φιλοφρόνως ἀναληφθέντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας, νυκτὸς ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους, καὶ τὰς τούτων γυναῖκας γήμαντες κατέσχον τὴν πόλιν. ἐκάλεσαν δὲ ταύτην Μαμερτίνην ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄρεως, διὰ τὸ τοῦτον κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων διάλεκτον Μάμερτον καλεῖσθαι.[3] (*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 493 W.)

3 Ὅτι οἱ μισθοφόροι κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἐκλιπόντες τὰς Συρακούσας προσεδέχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Μεσσηνίων, ὡς ἂν φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι. ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν φιλοφρόνως ἀναληφθέντες εἰς τὰς ἰδιωτικὰς οἰκίας νυκτὸς ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους, καὶ τὰς τῶν παρανομηθέντων γυναῖκας γήμαντες κατέσχον τὴν πόλιν.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 256.)

2 Οἷς γὰρ οὐ μέτεστι τῆς δημαρχίας, τούτους οὐδὲ τῆς ὑπὸ δημάρχου κυρουμένης ψήφου κοινωνεῖν.[4]

(*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 493 W.)

[1] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: κτίσεις H.
[2] So Herwerden: γὰρ H.
[3] The following fragment, if Diodorean, belongs here: Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ τοὺς πολεμικοὺς Μαμερτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ που ἢ Διόδωρος ἢ Δίων· οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβῶς μέμνημαι· γράφει γὰρ οὑτωσί πως· Μεσηνίους κατακόψαντες τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους αὐτοὺς κατέσχον Μεσήνην καὶ Μαμερτοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ὠνόμοσαν τουτέστι πολεμικούς. Μαμερτὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἄρης παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καλεῖται. (Tzetzes, on the *Alexandra* of Lycophron, v. 938.)
[4] After κοινωνεῖν H has αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστι τὸ μὲν ὄνομα φέρειν Πύρρου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως υἱοῦ, ταῖς δὲ πράξεσι φαίνεσθαι Θερσίτην, deleted by Hoeschel (cp. chap. 21. 12).

mercenaries should sell their possessions and leave Sicily. After these terms had been ratified, the mercenaries left Syracuse in accordance with the agreement; and when they reached the Strait, they were welcomed by the people of Messana as friends and allies. But when they had been hospitably received into the homes of the citizens, they slew their hosts in the night, married their wives, and took possession of the city. They named this city Mamertina after Ares, since in their language[1] he is called Mamertos. c. 288 B.C.

When the mercenaries had left Syracuse in accordance with the agreement, they were welcomed by the people of Messana as friends and allies. But when they had been hospitably received by the citizens into their own homes, they slew their hosts in the night, married the wives of the men they had so wronged, and took possession of the city.

Those who are not eligible for[2] the tribunate may not participate in a vote sanctioned by a tribune. 287 B.C.

[1] *i.e.* Oscan, where the proper form of the god's name is, however, Mamers. Though the people called themselves Mamertines, it is not, apparently, true that the city was ever called Mamertina. The uncertain fragment from Tzetzes (see critical note) says: "The Romans call those who are warlike Mamertines, as either Diodorus or Dio (my recollection is uncertain) records somewhere, in words to this effect: Having slaughtered the Messanians who had entertained them, they seized Messana and called themselves Mamertines, that is, warlike. For among the Romans, Ares is called Mamertos." Scheer ends the citation with the word Messana.
[2] More literally, "who have no share in." The passage probably relates, not to the civil strife at Syracuse (above, chap. 18. 1), as Dindorf apparently thought, but to the legislation of Q. Hortensius at Rome in 287 B.C. Patricians, who were ineligible for the post of *tribunus plebis*, were in theory excluded from the plebeian assemblies.

19. [Μηνύσει δ' ἀκριβέστερον τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἦθος προϊὼν ὁ λόγος καὶ τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνοντα μεταβολὴν καὶ κρίσιν ἐσχάτην τῆς περὶ Δημήτριον βασιλείας.] (Diod. 19. 59. 6.)

20. Ὅτι τοῦ Δημητρίου φυλαττομένου εἰς Πέλλαν Λυσίμαχος πρέσβεις ἀποστείλας ἠξίου τὸν Σέλευκον μηδενὶ τρόπῳ τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφεῖναι, πλεονέκτην ἄνδρα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐπιβεβουλευκότα· ἐπηγγέλλετο δὲ αὐτῷ δώσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως τῆς τούτου τάλαντα δισχίλια. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖς μὲν πρεσβευταῖς ἐπετίμησε παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν μὴ μόνον ἀθετῆσαι πίστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς[1] συνῳκειωμένον αὐτῷ τὸ[2] μύσος ἐκεῖνο[3] ἐπανελέσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ διατρίβοντα γράψας, συνεβούλευσε[4] πῶς χρηστέον ἐστὶν τῷ Δημητρίῳ. κεκρικὼς γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸν ἀπολύειν καὶ κατάγειν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν μεγαλοπρεπῶς· ἔσπευδεν δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ χάριν συνεπιγράψαι ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις, ὡς ἂν γεγαμηκότος αὐτοῦ Στρατονίκην τὴν Δημητρίου καὶ τέκνα γεγεννηκότος ἐξ αὐτῆς.
(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 256.)

21. Ὅτι δεῖ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις εἶναι φοβερώτατον, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις διαμένειν βέβαια προσηνέστατον.

2 Ἐπειδὴ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἀγνοήσαντες τὸ

[1] εἰς added by Wesseling. [2] τὸ added by Dindorf.
[3] So Valesius: μύσσος ἐκεῖνον P.
[4] Dindorf suggests συνεβουλεύσατο.

[1] Phila, daughter of Antipater and wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes. She committed suicide soon after Demetrius lost Macedon in 287 B.C.

19. [The sequel of our narrative and the sudden change in circumstances, which brought on the final crisis of the kingdom of Demetrius, will reveal more clearly the character of the woman.[1]]

20. While Demetrius was held under guard in Pella,[2] Lysimachus sent ambassadors to Seleucus with the request that he should on no account release Demetrius from his power, since he was a man of restless ambition and had plotted against all the kings; he offered to give Seleucus two thousand talents to do away with him. But the king rebuked the ambassadors for urging him not only to set at naught his solemn pledge but also to incur that pollution in respect of a man allied to him by marriage.[3] To his son Antiochus, who was in Media, he wrote, advising[4] him how to deal with Demetrius. For he had previously decided to release him and restore him with great pomp to his throne, but wanted to give his son joint credit for this kindness, since Antiochus had married Stratonicê, the daughter of Demetrius, and had begot children by her. After 285 B.C.

21. One should be most formidable to one's enemies, but to one's friends be most steadfastly cordial.[5]

Since on that occasion through ignorance of what

[2] Another name for Apameia in Syria (Strabo, 752). Demetrius died there in 283 B.C.
[3] Seleucus had married Stratonicê, daughter of Demetrius, and had since given her in marriage to his son Antiochus.
[4] Or perhaps "asking his advice": see critical note.
[5] The only clue to the context of these fragments is given by the mention of Pyrrhus. Dindorf suggests that they derive in part from the debate of the Tarentines over invoking the aid of Pyrrhus against the Romans, in part from the conversation of Pyrrhus with Cineas (cp. Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 13-14).

συμφέρον τοῖς πρὸς χάριν λόγοις ἐπηκολουθήσατε, νῦν τοῖς ἔργοις ἑωρακότες τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀτυχήματα μεταδιδάχθητε.

3 Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοῆσαί ποτε κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς πράγμασι πλεονάκις ἁμαρτάνειν τέλεον ἐξεστηκότος τοῖς λογισμοῖς. ὅσῳ γὰρ πλείοσιν ἐλαττώμασι περιπεπτώκαμεν, τοσούτῳ μείζονος τιμωρίας ἄξιοι τυχεῖν ὑπάρχομεν.

4 Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γάρ τινες τῶν πολιτῶν προεληλύθασι πλεονεξίας ὥστε βούλεσθαι τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους λαμπροὺς κατασκευάζειν ἐκ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος ἀτυχημάτων.

5 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τοὺς βοηθοῦντας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνομήσαντες πῶς ἂν χρήσαιντο περὶ αὑτῶν;[1]

6 Ὅτι δεῖ τοῖς μὲν ἡμαρτημένοις δοῦναι συγγνώμην, εἰς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἔχειν εἰρήνην.[2]

7 Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τοὺς ἁμαρτήσαντας ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις μὴ μεταδιδασκομένους.

8 Ὅτι προτερεῖ παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡ μὲν ἐπιείκεια τῆς ὀργῆς, ἡ δὲ εὐεργεσία τῆς τιμωρίας.

9 Ὅτι καλὸν καὶ εὔθετόν ἐστι λύειν μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν, ἀντεισάγειν δὲ φιλίαν. ὅταν γὰρ εἰς ἀπορίαν ἔλθῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἐπὶ πρώτην τὴν τῶν φίλων ἀρωγὴν[3] ὁρμᾶν εἴωθεν. (*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 493-494 W.)

Ὅτι ὅταν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἔλθῃ στρατιώτης ἀλλόφυλος, ἐπὶ πρώτην τὴν τῶν φίλων ἁρπαγὴν ὁρμᾶν εἴωθεν.

[1] So Post: αὐτῶν H.

was to your advantage you gave heed to flattering words, now that you have seen in actuality the misfortunes that pervade the country, be better instructed.

For it is but human to go astray now and again in the course of one's life, but to err repeatedly in the same circumstances marks a man as totally disordered in his calculations. For the more numerous the failures we have met with, the greater is the punishment that we deserve to get.

Some of our citizens have gone so far in their greed for gain as to wish to raise their own estates to greatness at the expense of their country's misfortunes.

How can men who have treated unjustly those who aid their fellow men find such aid for themselves?

We should grant pardon for the mistakes of the past, and henceforth live in peace.

We should not punish without exception those who have made mistakes, but only those who do not learn better by the mistakes they have made.

Among mortals fair dealing is better than anger, and an act of kindness better than punishment.

It is right and suitable to wipe out enmity and replace it with friendship. For when a man gets into straits, he is wont to turn first to his friends for aid.[1]

When an alien soldier gets into straits, he is wont to turn first to plundering his friends.

[1] So the text, as emended by Reiske. The discovery, later, of the parallel Vatican fragment might seem to preclude the emendation, but it still seems to give a better sense, and it is possible that the speaker was contrasting two types of behaviour. The sense of the unemended reading is "to turn first to plundering his friends."

[2] Capps suggests εὐλάβειαν for εἰρήνην.
[3] So Reiske: ἁρπαγὴν H.

10 Ἔμφυτος γὰρ οὖσα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡ τοῦ πλέονος ἐπιθυμία τοιαύτης οὐκ ἀφέξεται πόλεως.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 346.)

Ὅτι ἔμφυτος οὖσα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡ τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμία τῆς τοιαύτης ὁρμῆς οὐδ' ὅλως ἀφέξεται.

11 Δεῖ γὰρ τὸ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας μέγεθος καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐσθῆτος τυραννικὸν οἴκοι φυλάττειν, εἰς δὲ πόλιν ἐλευθέραν εἰσιόντα τοῖς ἐνθάδε νόμοις πείθεσθαι.

12 Οὗ γάρ τις τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κεκληρονόμηκε, τούτου θελήσει καὶ τῆς εὐδοξίας γενέσθαι διάδοχος· αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστι τὸ μὲν ὄνομα φέρειν Πύρρου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, ταῖς δὲ πράξεσι φαίνεσθαι Θερσίτην.

13 Ὅσῳ γάρ τις πλείονος κυριεύει δόξης, τοσούτῳ μείζονα[1] χάριν ἕξει τοῖς αἰτίοις τῶν εὐτυχημάτων. ὥστε ὧν δύναταί τις τυγχάνειν μετὰ δόξης καὶ χάριτος, τούτων οὐκ ἂν ἐπιθυμῆσαι μετὰ ἀδικίας[2] καὶ ὀνείδους κυριεῦσαι.

14 Καλὸν οὖν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνθρωποι, ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἁμαρτήμασι περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας λαμβάνειν τὴν πεῖραν.

15 Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ προκρίνειν τινὰ τῆς μὲν συγγενείας τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα, τῆς δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εὐνοίας τὸ τῶν πολεμίων μῖσος. (*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 494 W.)

[1] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: μείζονος H.
[2] So Rhodoman: ἀδικίαν H.

The greed that is innate in kings will not hold aloof from such a city.

The greed that is innate in mankind will not altogether abstain from such an enterprise.

For the pomp of pride and the raiment of tyranny should be kept at home, and when one enters a city of freemen, one should obey its laws.

When a man has inherited the blood and dominion of another, he will want to succeed to his good name also. For it is shameful to bear the name of Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, and to show oneself in conduct a Thersites.[1]

The greater the reputation that a man possesses, the greater will be his gratitude to those who are the authors of his good fortune. Hence a man will not desire to obtain dishonestly and dishonourably the things that he can get with honour and goodwill.

It is therefore well, gentlemen, to find in other men's mistakes the experience you need for your own safety.

One should never prefer the foreign to that which is kindred, nor yet the hatred of enemies to the loyalty of comrades-in-arms.

[1] Cp. the rebuke addressed to Philip of Macedon by the orator Demades (above, Book 16. 87).

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXII

1. Ὅτι πάτριόν ἐστι τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις μὴ μόνον περὶ[1] τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων κινδυνεύειν.

2 Ὅτι Δέκιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος χιλίαρχος φύλαξ γενόμενος Ῥηγίου διὰ Πύρρον τὸν βασιλέα κατέσφαξεν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἰδιοποιήσατο. Καμπανοὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐποίησαν κατὰ τὸν ὅμοιον τρόπον Μαμερτίνοις, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι Μεσσηνίους[2] σφάξαντες. εἶτα τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς κτήσεως τῶν ἠτυχηκότων ἄδικον ποιησάμενος ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥηγίου φυγαδευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων Καμπανῶν. συνήργησαν δὲ καὶ Μαμερτῖνοι . . . μετὰ τῶν ληφθέντων[3] χρημάτων στρατηγὸν ἐποίησαν. καὶ δὴ ὀφθαλμίας νόσου αὐτὸν περιεχούσης, τῶν ἰατρῶν τὸν δόκιμον μεταστειλαμένου αὐτοῦ, οὗτος[4] τὴν ὕβριν τῆς πατρίδος ἐκδικῶν κανθαρίσιν ὑπήλειψε τὸν Δέκιον καὶ τῆς ὁράσεως αὐτὸν ἀπεστέρησε[5] καὶ φεύγει ἐκ Μεσσήνης.

(*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 494-495 W.)

[1] So Herwerden: ἐπὶ H.
[2] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἐκείνους Μεσηνέους H.
[3] So Rhodoman: λειφθέντων H.
[4] οὗτος added by Wesseling.
[5] So Schaefer: ἐπεστέρησε H.

1. It is traditional with the people of Epirus not only to fight for their own country but also to face danger in defence of their friends and allies.

Decius, the Roman tribune, appointed to guard Rhegium because of King Pyrrhus, slaughtered the men of the city and appropriated their wives and property. These soldiers were Campanians, and acted just as the Mamertines did, after they slaughtered the men of Messana. Then because his distribution of the property of the victims was unjust, Decius was driven out of Rhegium and was sent into exile by his own Campanians. The Mamertines also gave assistance . . . with the money that was plundered, and made him general. On a certain occasion, being afflicted with a disease of the eye, he summoned the leading physician; and he, to avenge the outrage to his fatherland, anointed Decius' eyes with a salve made from the blister-beetle, thus deprived him of his sight, and then fled from Messana.[1] c. 280 B.C.

[1] The Hoeschel excerptor has badly garbled the narrative, as comparison with the Constantinian version, which follows, makes evident. The story is told at greater length and with some variations by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 20. 4-5; cp. also Polybius, 1. 7). Dionysius states that the garrison was sent by the Roman consul Fabricius, and that he later relieved the oppressed city, but it is not clear whether his consulship of 282 or 278 B.C. is intended. On Decius Vibellius see *RE*, *s.v.* "Vibellius" (1), and Broughton, *Magistrates*, *Suppl.* (1960), p. 69.

3 Ὅτι εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον ἀπεστάλη φρουρὰ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. ὁ δὲ χιλίαρχος Δέκιος, τὸ γένος Καμπανός, πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέρων ἐμιμήσατο τὴν τῶν Μαμερτίνων παρανομίαν. ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ προσδεχθέντες ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ὡς φίλοι τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατελάβοντο, τοὺς δὲ Μεσσηνίους ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἑστίας ἑκάστους σφάξαντες ἔγημαν τὰς τῶν ἰδιοξένων γυναῖκας καὶ τὰς τῶν σφαγέντων κτήσεις κατέσχον· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δέκιον Καμπανοὶ δοθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων φύλακες τῶν Ῥηγίνων ἐζήλωσαν τὴν τούτων ὠμότητα· τοὺς γὰρ Ῥηγίνους σφάξαντες καὶ τὰς κτήσεις διελόμενοι κατέσχον τὴν πόλιν ὡς δορίκτητον. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς τεταγμένος Δέκιος ἐξαργυρισάμενος τὰς τῶν ἠτυχηκότων κτήσεις καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς ὠφελείας ἄδικον ποιησάμενος ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥηγίου, φυγαδευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συνασεβησάντων Καμπανῶν. οὐ μὴν ἐξέφυγον τὴν τιμωρίαν οἱ παρανομήσαντες, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Δέκιος εἰς ὀφθαλμίαν χαλεπὴν ἐμπεσὼν μετεπέμψατο τῶν ἰατρῶν τὸν ἄριστον· οὗτος δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τιμωρίαν[1] λαμβάνων ἱκανῶς κανθαρίσιν ὑπήλειψε τὸν Δέκιον καὶ τῆς ὁράσεως αὐτὸν στερήσας ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 256-257.)

2. Κατὰ δὲ Σικελίαν ἦσαν τύραννοι Ἱκέτας ἐν Συρακόσῃ, Φιντίας εἰς Ἀκράγαντα, Τυνδαρίων[2] ἐν Ταυρομενίῳ, καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ἐλαττόνων πόλεων. Φιντίας δὲ καὶ Ἱκέτας πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον ἐνστησάμενοι παρετάξαντο περὶ τὸν Ὕβλαιον, καὶ τὴν νίκην Ἱκέτας ἀπηνέγκατο. καταδρομὰς δὲ

[1] So Valesius: *παρανομίαν* P.
[2] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: *Τυνδάριος* H.

A garrison was sent to Rhegium by the Romans. Decius the tribune, a Campanian by race and a man of unusual greed and daring, imitated the lawless conduct of the Mamertines. For although the Mamertines had been received as friends by the people of Messana, they seized control of the city, slaughtered the men, each at his own hearth, married the wives of their own hosts, and possessed themselves of the property of their victims. So Decius and his Campanians, though they had been sent by Rome to guard the inhabitants of Rhegium, emulated the savagery of the Mamertines; for they slaughtered the citizens, divided up their property, and occupied the city as a prize of war. Decius, who had been appointed commander of the garrison, converted into money the property of the hapless populace, and because he made an unfair distribution of the spoils, was driven out of Rhegium and sent into exile by the Campanians, his partners in guilt. The transgressors did not, however, escape punishment, but Decius, when he had a severe attack of ophthalmia, called in the best of the physicians, who, taking revenge for his country, anointed him amply with blister-beetle salve, and having robbed Decius of his sight fled from Messana.

2. Throughout Sicily there were tyrants, Hicetas in Syracuse, Phintias in Acragas, Tyndarion in Tauromenium, and others in the lesser cities. A war arose between Phintias and Hicetas, and when they met in battle near the Hyblaeus,[1] Hicetas was victorious;

[1] Probably the upper part of the Hyrminius River, in the region of Hybla Heraea.

πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιούμενοι τὰς κτήσεις διήρπασαν, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀγεώργητον ἐποίησαν. Ἱκέτας δὲ τῇ νίκῃ ἐπαιρόμενος παρετάξατο πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, καὶ λειφθεὶς[1] πολλοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπέβαλε
2 περὶ τὸν Τηρίαν ποταμόν. κτίζει δὲ Φιντίας πόλιν, ὀνομάσας αὐτὴν Φιντιάδα, Γελῴους ἀναστάτους ὄντας οἰκίσας[2] ἐν αὐτῇ· ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη[3] παραθαλάσσιος.[4] καθαιρῶν τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς οἰκίας,[5] τοὺς λαοὺς τῆς Γέλας εἰς τὴν Φιντιάδα μετήνεγκε, κτίσας τεῖχος καὶ ἀγορὰν ἀξιόλογον καὶ ναοὺς θεῶν.

3 Ὅθεν μιαιφόνου γεγονότος, ὑπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἐμισήθη τῶν οὐσῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς πρὸς φρουρὰν ὄντας ἐδίωξαν, ἐν οἷς πρῶτον ἀπέστησαν Ἀγυριναῖοι. (*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 495 W.)

4 Ὅτι Φιντίας τῶν πόλεων βιαίως ἄρχων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν εὐπόρων ἀναιρῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων διὰ τὴν παρανομίαν ἐμισεῖτο. διόπερ ἁπάντων ὄντων[6] πρὸς ἀπόστασιν, ταχὺ ταπεινωθεὶς μετεβάλετο τὸν τρόπον καὶ φιλανθρωπότερον ἄρχων διακατέσχεν αὐτοὺς[7] ὑπὸ χεῖρα.

3. Ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν νέος ὢν παντελῶς, πραγμάτων δὲ πολεμικῶν ἄπειρος, φύσει δὲ θρασὺς καὶ προπετὴς οὐδὲν τῶν χρησίμων προενοεῖτο· τῶν γὰρ φίλων αὐτῷ συμβουλευόντων ἀναδέξασθαι τοὺς ἀφυστεροῦντας, οὐ προσέσχεν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 257.)

[1] So Wesseling: ληφθεὶς H.
[2] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: οἰκήσας H.
[3] So Dindorf: αὐτῇ H.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: παραθαλασσίους H.
[5] καὶ after οἰκίας deleted by Hoeschel.

in their raids against one another, they pillaged the estates and made the district a wasteland. Hicetas was so elated by his victory that he joined battle with the Carthaginians, but was defeated and lost many men near the river Terias. Phintias founded a city, which he named Phintias, settling in it the inhabitants of Gela, who were driven from their homes. This city, Phintias, is by the sea. He tore down the walls and houses of Gela, and transferred its people to Phintias, where he had built a wall, a notable market-place, and temples of the gods.

Hence, since he had shown himself a bloodthirsty murderer, all the cities subject to him came to loathe him and drove out their garrisons, the first to revolt being the people of Agyrium.[1]

Since Phintias ruled the cities by main force and put to death many of the wealthy men, his lawlessness won him the hatred of his subjects; consequently, since all were at the point of revolt, he was soon humbled, changed his ways, and by a more humane rule held his subjects under control.

3. Ptolemy,[2] the king of the Macedonians, being 280/79 B.C.
quite young and inexperienced in the business of war, and being by nature rash and impetuous, exercised no prudence or foresight. For instance, when his friends advised him to wait for the troops which were tardy in arriving, he paid no attention.

[1] Diodorus is constantly alert to opportunities for singling out his native city for mention.
[2] Ptolemy Keraunos, son of Ptolemy I Soter by Eurydicê. He was proclaimed king of Macedonia by the army in 280 B.C. and was killed in 279 B.C.

[6] ὄντων ἑτοίμων Valesius; ἰόντων Post; Wesseling defends the text.
[7] διακατέσχεν αὐτοὺς Herwerden: διακατέσχε τοὺς P.

2 Ὅτι ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν Πτολεμαῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσφάγη καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Μακεδονικὴ δύναμις κατεκόπη καὶ διεφθάρη. (*Exc. Hoesch*. p. 495 W.)

4. Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους, τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπικειμένων τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ λεηλατούντων αὐτήν, διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἐπεμβαίνοντας τῇ βασιλείᾳ πρὸς βραχὺ κρατεῖν καὶ ἐκπίπτειν αὐτῆς, ὧν εἷς καὶ Μελέαγρος, ἀδελφὸς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, πρὸς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας δυναστεύσας καὶ ἐκπεσών· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα πέντε· μεθ' οὓς Σωσθένης, ἔτι δὲ Πτολεμαῖος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Πύρρος ὁ Ἠπειρώτης· οἱ πάντες ἔτη τρία κατὰ Διόδωρον.

(Georgius Syncellus, p. 507.[1])

5. Ὅτι Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐπιθέμενος τυραννίδι καὶ βεβαιῶσαι κρίνας τὴν συνωμοσίαν, μειρακίσκον τινὰ φίλον αὐτοῦ καλέσας ὡς ἐπὶ θυσίαν καὶ σφαγιάσας τοῖς θεοῖς τά τε σπλάγχνα τοῖς συνομόσασιν ἔδωκε φαγεῖν καὶ τὸ αἷμα κεράσας οἴνῳ πιεῖν παρεκελεύσατο.

2 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀπολλόδωρος Γαλάτας εὑρὼν καὶ τούτοις ὅπλα διδοὺς καὶ δωρεαῖς τιμήσας δορυφόροις ἐχρῆτο πιστοῖς καὶ πρὸς τὰς κολάσεις εὐθέτοις διὰ τὴν ὠμότητα. τὰς δὲ τῶν εὐπόρων οὐσίας δημεύων πλῆθος χρημάτων ἤθροιζεν. ἀνα-

[1] Ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1829.

[1] If the text is right Meleager was an uncle of Ptolemy Keraunos. Eusebius (1. 235 Schoene) calls him a brother.

[2] Antipater "Etesias," a nephew of Cassander.

[3] A Macedonian, probably one of the generals of Lysimachus, he refused the proffered crown but did serve as commander of the army. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in d.*

King Ptolemy was slain and the whole Macedonian army was cut to pieces and destroyed by the Gauls. 279 B.C.

4. During this period the Gauls attacked Macedonia and harried it, since there were many claimants to the kingship, who possessed themselves of it briefly and were driven out. One of these was Meleager, a brother of Ptolemy, son of Lagus,[1] who ruled for only a few days and was then expelled. Similarly, Antipater[2] ruled for forty-five days. After them came Sosthenes,[3] then Ptolemy,[4] as well as Alexander,[5] and Pyrrhus of Epirus. All together they ruled for three years, according to Diodorus. 279–'77 or 276 B.C.

5. Apollodorus,[6] who aimed at a tyranny, and thought to render the conspiracy secure, invited a young lad, one of his friends, to a sacrifice, slew him as an offering to the gods, gave the conspirators his vitals to eat, and when he had mixed the blood with wine, bade them drink it. c. 278 B.C.

This same Apollodorus, having recruited some Gauls, furnished them too with arms, and, when he had conferred gifts upon them, found them loyal guardsmen and convenient tools, because of their cruelty, to execute his punishments. By confiscating the property of the well-to-do he amassed great

hellenist. Zeit, 2. 381 ff., denies that Sosthenes was of ignoble birth, and notes the choice of a *strategos* to head the state, in lieu of a king, as a reversion to earlier practices.

[4] Probably a son of Lysimachus.

[5] Possibly another son of Lysimachus, or he may be identical with the Arrhidaeus named in Eusebius (1. 235 Schoene).

[6] The leader of a proletarian revolution in Cassandreia, a new city founded by Cassander in 316 B.C. on the site of Potidaea. He was finally subdued by Antigonus Gonatas in 276 B.C.

βιβάσας δὲ τοὺς στρατιωτικοὺς μισθοὺς καὶ μεταδιδοὺς τοῖς πένησι τῆς εὐπορίας δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον περιεποιήσατο. ἐκτραπεὶς δὲ εἰς ὠμότητα καὶ πλεονεξίαν εἰσεπράττετο τοὺς πολιτικοὺς χρήματα, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας, οὐκ ὀλίγας δὲ γυναῖκας τῇ διὰ τῶν βασάνων τιμωρίᾳ βιαζόμενος ἠνάγκασε πάντας[1] ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν παραδιδόναι. εἶχε δὲ τυραννίδος εἰσηγητὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον Καλλιφῶντα τὸν Σικελόν, συνδιατετριφότα πολλοῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν τυράννοις. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 257.)

6. Ὅτι ἡ Καδμεία νίκη παροιμία ἐστίν. ἐστὶ δὲ οὕτω· τὸ[2] τοὺς νικήσαντας συμφορὰν ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἡττημένους μηδὲν κινδυνεύειν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἡγεμονίας. (*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 495 W.)

2 Ὅτι Πύρρος ὁ βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν τῶν συνδιαβεβηκότων ἀποβεβληκώς, ἐπεί τις ἠρώτησεν αὐτὸν τῶν ἰδιοξένων πῶς τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ, εἰπεῖν ὅτι[3] ἐὰν ἔτι μιᾷ μάχῃ νικήσῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν συνδιαβεβηκότων ἀπολειφθήσεται. ταῖς γὰρ ἀληθείαις ἁπάσας τὰς νίκας ἔσχε Καδμείας κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν· οἱ γὰρ ἡττηθέντες οὐδὲν ἐταπεινώθησαν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὁ δὲ νικήσας τὴν τῶν ἡττημένων βλάβην καὶ συμφορὰν ἀνεδέδεκτο.

3 Ὅτι Κινέας πρεσβευτὴς ἀποσταλεὶς παρὰ Πύρρου περὶ διαλύσεως πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, οὗτος πειστικὸς[4]

[1] So Post: πάντα P.
[2] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: τῷ H.
[3] ὅτι added by Herwerden. On εἰπεῖν see Introduction, p. xviii.
[4] So Dindorf: πιστικὸς V.

wealth. Then, by an increase in the pay of his soldiers, and by sharing his riches with the poor, he made himself master of a formidable force. But turning then to cruelty and greed he began to exact money from the citizens at large, and by inflicting the penalty of torture upon many men and more than a few women he forced everyone to hand over gold and silver. His guide and tutor in tyranny was Calliphon the Sicel, who had lived at the court of many of the Sicilian tyrants.

6. A " Cadmean victory " is a proverbial expression. It signifies that the victors suffer misfortune, while the defeated are not endangered because of the magnitude of their dominion.[1] 280 B.C.

King Pyrrhus had lost many of the Epirotes who had crossed over[2] with him, and when one of his friends asked how he had fared in the battle, he replied: " If I win a victory in one more battle with the Romans, I shall not have left a single soldier of those who crossed over with me." In very truth, all his victories were, as the proverb has it, Cadmean; for the enemy, though defeated, were in no way humbled, since their dominion was so great, whereas the victor had suffered the damage and disaster that commonly go with defeat.

Cineas, whom Pyrrhus sent as ambassador to treat for terms with the Romans, was a persuasive diplomat, 280 or 279 B.C.

[1] Suidas refers the expression to those who are victorious in battle but lose more men than the enemy.
[2] Into Italy. The battle took place near Heracleia, and Pyrrhus commemorated his victory by a dedication at Dodona (Dittenberger, *Syllogê*³, 392).

ὧν ἐν τῷ πρεσβεύειν καὶ δῶρα πολυτελῆ τοῖς εὐθέτοις ἐδίδου. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἔλαβον ταῦτα, πάντες δὲ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν[1] ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ, ὅτι νῦν μὲν ὄντος αὐτοῦ πολεμίου μηδαμῶς ἁρμόζειν τὴν δωρεάν, ἐὰν δὲ καταπράξηται τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ γένηται φίλος Ῥωμαίων, ἡδέως προσδέξεσθαι[2] τὴν δόσιν οὖσαν ἀκατηγόρητον.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 346-347.)

7. Ὅτι Φιντίας ὁ Φιντιάδος κτίστωρ,[3] Ἀκράγαντος τύραννος, εἶδεν ὄναρ δηλοῦν τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφήν, ὗν ἄγριον κυνηγοῦντος,[4] ὁρμῆσαι κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν[5] ὗν καὶ τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὀδοῦσι πατάξαι καὶ διελάσαντα τὴν πληγὴν κτεῖναι.

2 Ὅτι Ἱκέτας ἐννέα ἔτη δυναστεύσας Συρακόσας ὑπὸ Θοίνωνος[6] τοῦ Μαμέως[7] ἐκβάλλεται τῆς τυραννίδος.

3 Ὅτι Θοίνων καὶ Σώστρατος διαδεξάμενοι Ἱκέταν, οὕτω πάλιν προκαλοῦνται Πύρρον τὸν βασιλέα εἰς Σικελίαν.

4 Ὅτι Μαμερτῖνοι οἱ Μεσσηνίους δολοφονήσαντες[8] συμμαχίαν μετὰ Καρχηδονίων ποιήσαντες, ἔκριναν κοινῇ διακωλύειν Πύρρον τὴν εἰς Σικελίαν διάβασιν·

[1] αὐτὴν added by Mai.
[2] So Dindorf: προσδέξασθαι V.
[3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: κτήτωρ H.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: κυνηγοῦντα H.
[5] All editors, following Rhodoman, give the false reading τήν.
[6] So Wesseling (throughout): Θυνίωνος H.
[7] So Dindorf: Μαμέων H, Μαμμέως Hoeschel, Rhodoman.
[8] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: Μεσσήνην δολοφονήσαντας H.

[1] Opinion is divided on the date of this incident, and on

and, in addition, offered valuable presents to the appropriate persons. They did not accept these presents, but all gave him the selfsame answer, that since he was at this time an enemy, such a gift was quite unfitting; if, however, he should bring about a peace and become a friend of the Roman people, they would gladly accept his gift, which would then be above reproach.[1]

7. Phintias, the founder of the city of Phintias and tyrant of Acragas, had a dream that revealed the manner of his death: he was hunting a wild boar, when the swine rushed at him, struck his side with its tusks, pierced him through, and killed him.[2]

Hicetas had ruled Syracuse for nine years when 279 B.C.
he was thrust from power by Thoenon, the son of Mameus.

When Thoenon and Sostratus[3] had succeeded Hicetas, they once again invited King Pyrrhus to come to Sicily.

The Mamertines, who had treacherously murdered the men of Messana, having made an alliance with the Carthaginians, decided to join them in trying to prevent Pyrrhus from crossing over into Sicily. But

the question whether Cineas made a single mission to Rome, or two.

[2] Among the coins issued by Phintias some bear on the reverse the figure of a boar, on the obverse the head either of Artemis (sometimes inscribed "Soteira") or of the river-god Acragas. The story recorded here may well be related to the coin-types, whether or not it is a later invention.

[3] Thoenon was later put to death by Pyrrhus (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 23; Dionysius Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 20. 8). Sostratus is possibly a grandson of the Sostratus (or Sosistratus) of Book 19. 3 ff.; here, as there, the name appears in both forms.

Τυνδαρίων δὲ ὁ Ταυρομενίας τύραννος ἔκλινε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἕτοιμος ἦν δέξασθαι[1] τῇ πόλει τὰς μετ' αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις.

5 Ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι συμμαχίαν ποιήσαντες μετὰ Ῥωμαίων πεντακοσίους ἄνδρας ἔλαβον εἰς τὰς ἰδίας ναῦς, καὶ εἰς τὸ Ῥήγιον διαβάντες προσβολὰς ποιούμενοι τῆς μὲν[2] πολιορκίας ἀπέστησαν, τὴν δὲ παρεσκευασμένην ὕλην εἰς ναυπηγίαν ἐνέπρησαν,[3] καὶ διέμειναν φυλάττοντες τὸν πορθμόν, παρατηροῦντες τὴν διάβασιν Πύρρου.

6 Ὅτι Θοίνωνος τῆς Νήσου κυριεύοντος, καὶ Σωστράτου τῆς Συρακόσης τυραννοῦντος, ἔχοντες[4] στρατιώτας μυρίους διεπολέμουν ἀλλήλοις[5]· ἀμφότεροι δὲ κάμνοντες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διεπρεσβεύοντο πρὸς Πύρρον.

8. Ὅτι Πύρρος ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἐπολέμησεν ἔτη δύο καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας. ὅτι τούτου παρασκευαζομένου πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν, τὰς Συρακόσας Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπολιόρκουν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν ἐφορμοῦντες[6] τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι· πεζῇ[7] δὲ πέντε μυριάσι πλησίον τῶν τειχῶν στρατεύοντες,[8] τειχήρεις συνεῖχον τοὺς Συρακοσίους, καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κατατρέχοντες ἔρημον
2 κατεσκεύασαν. διὸ τῷ πολέμῳ κάμνοντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι τὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχον ἐν τῷ Πύρρῳ διὰ Λάνασσαν[9] τὴν γυναῖκα, τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀγαθοκλέους, ἐξ ἧς ἐγέννησεν Ἀλέξανδρον υἱόν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο

[1] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: δέξαι H.
[2] μὲν transferred here by Dindorf from a position after προσβολὰς, above.
[3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἐνέπειραν H.
[4] Wurm suggests ἔχοντος δὲ (cp. chap. 8. 4).
[5] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἀλλήλους H.

Tyndarion, the tyrant of Tauromenia, inclined in favour of Pyrrhus and was ready to receive his forces into the city.

The Carthaginians, having made an alliance with 279/8 B.C.
the Romans, took five hundred men[1] on board their own ships and sailed across to Rhegium; they made assaults, and though they desisted from the siege, set fire to the timber that had been brought together for ship-building, and they continued to guard the Strait, watching against any attempt by Pyrrhus to cross.

Thoenon controlled the Island,[2] while Sostratus ruled Syracuse. They had ten thousand soldiers, and carried on war with each other. But both, becoming exhausted in the war, sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus.

8. Pyrrhus waged war in Italy for two years and 278 B.C.
four months. While he was making ready to set sail, the Carthaginians were besieging Syracuse both by land and by sea; they blockaded the Great Harbour with a hundred ships, and on land they carried on operations close to the walls with fifty thousand men. Thus they held the Syracusans pent up while they overran their territory and laid it waste. Consequently the Syracusans, being exhausted by the war, pinned their hopes on Pyrrhus because of his wife Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles, who had borne Pyrrhus a son, Alexander; therefore they daily dis-

[1] These men were Roman legionaries. For the terms of the treaty with Rome, made in 279 B.C., see Polybius, 3. 25.
[2] Ortygia.

[6] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἐφορμῶντες H.
[7] So Dindorf: πεζὶ H, πεζῶν Hoeschel, Rhodoman.
[8] Oldfather suggests στρατοπεδεύοντες.
[9] So Rhodoman: Μάνασσαν H.

καθ' ἡμέραν ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλοις πρέσβεις ἔστελλον[1] πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐμβιβάσας δὲ τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὰς ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν, ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ τῆς Τάραντος, καὶ δεκαταῖος εἰς
3 Λοκροὺς κατῆρεν. ἐντεῦθεν καταπλεύσας τὸν πορθμὸν καὶ διάρας Σικελίαν,[2] κατῆρεν εἰς τὴν Ταυρομένιον. ἐκεῖθεν προσλαβόμενος εἰς συμμαχίαν Τυνδαρίωνα τὸν δυνάστην Ταυρομενίας, καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Κατάνην. καὶ προσδεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων μεγάλως[3] καὶ χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις στεφθείς, ἀπεβίβασε τὴν πεζὴν δύναμιν. ταύτης δὲ πορευομένης εἰς Συρακόσας, καὶ ὁ στόλος συμπαρέπλει κεκοσμημένος πρὸς ναυμαχίαν. ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἐγένοντο Συρακόσης, οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι προαπεσταλκότες τριάκοντα ναῦς διά τινας χρείας ἀναγκαίας, ταῖς καταλελειμμέναις οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν πολεμῆσαι.
4 διόπερ Πύρρος ἀκινδύνως διέπλευσεν εἰς Συρακόσας, καὶ παρέλαβε[4] τὴν Νῆσον παρὰ Θοίνωνος, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην πόλιν παρὰ Συρακοσίων[5] καὶ Σωσιστράτου. οὗτος δὲ ἐκυρίευσεν Ἀκράγαντος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων πόλεων, ἔχων στρατιώτας ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους. καὶ τὸν μὲν Θοίνωνα καὶ Σωσίστρατον καὶ τοὺς Συρακοσίους κατήλλαξε καὶ εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἤγαγεν, ὡς μεγάλης τευξόμενος[6] ἀπο-
5 δοχῆς διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς παραλαβὼν τά τε βέλη καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει παρασκευάς· αἱ δὲ ναῦς ἃς παρέλαβεν ἐν ταῖς Συρακόσαις κατάφρακτοι ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι καὶ ἄφρα-

[1] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman : στέλλειν H.

[2] καταπλεύσας . . . Σικελίαν] None of the many emendations proposed is completely convincing. The translation is based on Post's πρὸς τὸν πορθμὸν and Rhodoman's (or Hoeschel's) εἰς Σικελίαν.

patched envoys to him, one group after the other. He embarked his men, his elephants, and his other equipment of war aboard his ships, set sail from Tarentum, and put in at Locri on the tenth day. From there he sailed to the Narrows, and crossing to Sicily, put in at Tauromenium. Thence after adding Tyndarion, the dynast of Tauromenia, to his alliance and after obtaining soldiers from him, he sailed to Catana. There, having been welcomed by the inhabitants with great state and crowned with golden crowns, he disembarked his infantry. As they made their way to Syracuse, the fleet accompanied them in battle array. When they approached Syracuse, the Carthaginians, who had sent away thirty ships on some necessary missions, did not venture to do battle with the ships that remained. Thus Pyrrhus sailed unchallenged into Syracuse, and accepted delivery of the Island from Thoenon, and of the rest of the city from the citizens and Sosistratus. This Sosistratus had made himself master of Acragas and of many other cities, and had an army of more than ten thousand men. Pyrrhus effected a reconciliation between Thoenon and Sosistratus and the Syracusans and restored harmony, thinking to gain great popularity by virtue of the peace. The king took over the missiles, engines of war, and such equipment as was in the city; the ships that he took over in Syracuse were: one hundred and twenty decked vessels,

[3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman : μεγάλοις H. Possibly, however, a word is lost.

[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman : παραλαβὼν H.

[5] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman : Συρακοσίοις H.

[6] τευξόμενος added by Wifstrand.

κτοι εἴκοσι· ἡ μὲν βασιλικὴ ἐννήρης· ὁ δὲ σύμπας στόλος σὺν ταῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ κομισθείσαις πλείους διακοσίων. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ἧκον πρέσβεις ἐκ Λεοντίνων ἀπὸ[1] Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ δυνάστου λέγοντος[2] παραδώσειν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ φρούρια καὶ στρατιώτας πεζοὺς τετρακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακοσίους. ἧκον δὲ καὶ ἕτεροι πλεῖστοι εἰς Συράκοσαν, λέγοντες τὰς πόλεις παραδώσειν καὶ συνεργήσειν τῷ Πύρρῳ. ὁ δὲ πάντας φιλανθρώπως ἀποδεξάμενος ἀπέλυσεν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας, ἐλπίζων καὶ Λιβύης τυχεῖν.

6 Ὅτι ὁ λιμὴν ὁ Κορινθιακὸς Λέχαιον[3] καλεῖται.

9. Ὅτι Βρέννος ὁ βασιλεὺς Γαλατῶν μετὰ πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων[4] θυρεοφόρων καὶ ἱππέων μυρίων καὶ ἑτέρου ἀγοραίου ὄχλου καὶ ἐμπόρων πλείστων καὶ ἁμαξῶν δισχιλίων εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐλθὼν πόλεμον ἐποίησεν, ἐν ᾧ πολλοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποβαλών, ὡς μὴ ἰσχύσας . . .[5] ὕστερον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλθὼν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον, θέλων ἀποσυλῆσαι αὐτό. καὶ πολλοῦ πολέμου γεγονότος, μυριάδας ἐκεῖσε[6] στρατιωτῶν ἀποβαλὼν ἐπλήγη
2 καὶ αὐτὸς Βρέννος τρισὶ πληγαῖς. βαρυνόμενος δὲ καὶ πρὸς θάνατον, συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, διελάλησε τοῖς Γαλάταις, συμβουλεύσας αὐτοῖς

[1] So Dindorf: ὑπὸ H. [2] λέγοντες Vulgate.
[3] So Herwerden: Λεχαῖος H.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: μυριάδας H.
[5] Lacuna indicated by Herwerden, who proposes καὶ μὴ κατισχύσας (τοὺς ἐναντίους . . . μὲν . . .) ὕστερον δ' εἰς . . . ἦλθε; Rhodoman suggests ἀπέβαλεν, ὥστε μὴ ἰσχύσαι ὕστερον.
[6] Post points out that a number is needed. Perhaps read ἐκεῖ ε' or ἐκεῖ ϛ'.

twenty without decks, and the royal "niner"[1]: the total, including the ships he had brought with him, now amounted to a fleet of more than two hundred. While he was busy with these matters envoys arrived from Leontini, sent by Heracleides the ruler, who said that he would hand over to the king the city and its forts, together with four thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. Many other embassies also came to Syracuse, offering to hand over their cities and saying that they would co-operate with Pyrrhus. He received them all courteously, and then sent them back to their several countries, hoping now to win even Libya.

The harbour of Corinth is called Lechaeum.

9. Brennus, the king of the Gauls, accompanied by 279 B.C.
one hundred and fifty thousand infantry, armed with long shields, and ten thousand cavalry, together with a horde of camp followers, large numbers of traders, and two thousand waggons, invaded Macedonia and engaged in battle. Having in this conflict lost many men . . . as lacking sufficient strength . . . when later he advanced into Greece and to the oracle at Delphi, which he wished to plunder.[2] In the mighty battle fought there he lost tens of thousands[3] of his comrades-in-arms, and Brennus himself was three times wounded. Weighed down and near to death, he assembled his host there and spoke to the Gauls.

[1] The *ennērēs*, or ship of the nine-class. Presumably this means nine men to an oar, not nine banks of oars.
[2] The text is uncertain. Rhodoman's text gives: "he lost many men, so that he lacked sufficient strength when, etc."; Herwerden's: "having lost many men and having failed to prevail over the enemy he . . . but later he advanced, etc."
[3] The exact number was perhaps 50,000 or 60,000; see critical note.

ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς τραυματίας ἅπαντας ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας καύσαντας[1] εὐζώνους εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐπανελθεῖν· βασιλέα δὲ καταστῆσαι Κιχώριον. Βρέννος δὲ ἄκρατον πολὺν ἐμφορησάμενος ἑαυτὸν
3 ἀπέσφαξε. Κιχώριος δὲ τοῦτον θάψας, τοὺς τραυματίας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ χειμῶνος καὶ πείνης ταλαιπωρήσαντας ἀνεῖλεν, ὄντας περὶ δισμυρίους· καὶ οὕτως τοῖς λοιποῖς διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ πρὸς οἶκον τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο. κατὰ δὲ τὰς δυσχωρίας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιτιθέμενοι τὰς οὐραγίας[2] ἀπέκοπτον καὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἦραν ἅπασαν· πορευόμενοι δὲ πρὸς Θερμοπύλας, καὶ σπανιζούσης αὐτοῦ τροφῆς, ἀπέλιπον ἄλλους δισμυρίους. διὰ δὲ τῶν Δαρδάνων[3] διερχόμενοι ἅπαντες διεφθάρησαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὑπελείφθη ἀπελθεῖν οἶκον.

(*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 495-497 W.)

4 Ὅτι Βρέννος ὁ τῶν Γαλατῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς ναὸν ἐλθὼν ἀργυροῦν μὲν ἢ χρυσοῦν οὐδὲν εὗρεν ἀνάθημα, ἀγάλματα δὲ μόνον λίθινα καὶ ξύλινα καταλαβὼν κατεγέλασεν ὅτι θεοὺς ἀνθρωπομόρφους εἶναι δοκοῦντες ἵστασαν αὐτοὺς ξυλίνους τε καὶ λιθίνους.

5 Ὅτι οἱ ἐν Δελφοῖς ὄντες κατὰ τὴν τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔφοδον θεωροῦντες πλησίον ὄντα τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπηρώτησαν τὸν θεὸν εἰ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀποκομίσωσιν ἐκ τοῦ μαντείου πρὸς τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας τῶν πλησίον πόλεων. ἡ δὲ Πυθία τοῖς Δελφοῖς ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκεν προστάττειν τὸν θεὸν ἐὰν τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ τἆλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν κόσμον τῶν θεῶν ἀνήκοντα κατὰ χώραν ἐν τῷ

He advised them to kill him and all the wounded, to burn their waggons, and to return home unburdened; he advised them also to make Cichorius[1] king. Then, after drinking deeply of undiluted wine, Brennus slew himself. After Cichorius had given him burial, he killed the wounded and those who were victims of cold and starvation, some twenty thousand in all; and so he began the journey homeward with the rest by the same route. In difficult terrain the Greeks would attack and cut off those in the rear, and carried off all their baggage. On the way to Thermopylae, food being scarce there, they abandoned twenty thousand more men. All the rest perished as they were going through the country of the Dardani, and not a single man was left to return home.

Brennus, the king of the Gauls, on entering a temple found no dedications of gold or silver, and when he came only upon images of stone and wood he laughed at them,[2] to think that men, believing that gods have human form, should set up their images in wood and stone.

At the time of the Gallic invasion the inhabitants of Delphi, seeing that danger was at hand, asked the god if they should remove the treasures, the children, and the women from the shrine to the most strongly fortified of the neighbouring cities. The Pythia replied to the Delphians that the god commanded them to leave in place in the shrine the dedications and whatever else pertained to the adornment of the

[1] Or Acichorius, as in Pausanias, 10. 22-23.
[2] *i.e.* at the Greeks.

---

[1] So Wesseling: καύσαντες H.
[2] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἀργίας H.
[3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: τοῦ Δαρδάνου H.

μαντείῳ· φυλάξειν γὰρ ἅπαντα τὸν θεὸν καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὰς λευκὰς κόρας. ὄντων δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει δυεῖν νεῶν[1] παντελῶς ἀρχαίων Ἀθηνᾶς Προναίας[2] καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, ταύτας τὰς θεοὺς ὑπέλαβον εἶναι τὰς διὰ τοῦ χρησμοῦ προσαγορευομένας λευκὰς κόρας. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 347.)

10. Ὁ Πύρρος τὰ κατὰ Συρακόσας καὶ Λεοντίνους καταστησάμενος μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀκράγαντα προῆλθεν. ὄντος δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν, ἧκον Ἐνναῖοι[3] λέγοντες τὴν φρουρὰν τὴν Καρχηδονίων ἐκβεβληκέναι, ἣν εἶχον ὅπως μὴ Φιντίας δυναστεύσῃ αὐτῶν, λέγοντες τὴν πόλιν παραδώσειν καὶ συμμάχους γενέσθαι. αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀναλαβόντος τὴν στρατιὰν . . . εἰς Ἀκράγαντα παραγενόμενος τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἔλαβε παρὰ Σωσιστράτου καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, πεζοὺς μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ ὀκτακοσίους, πάντας δὲ ἐπιλέκτους, οὐδὲν ἀπολειπομένους[4] τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν· παρέλαβε δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ὧν ἦρχε
2 Σωσίστρατος. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀποστείλας ἐς Συρακόσας ἤγαγεν ὄργανα πολιορκητικὰ καὶ βελῶν πλῆθος. ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν[5] τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπικράτειαν, ἔχων πεζοὺς τρισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους πεντακοσίους καὶ[6] ἐλέφαντας. καὶ πρώτην πόλιν Ἡράκλειαν ὑπηγάγετο[7] φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀζῶνας παρέλαβεν. εἶτα Σελινούντιοι τῷ βασιλεῖ προσεχώρησαν, εἶτα

[1] νεῶν] ἑδῶν Madvig, but cp. Justin, 24. 8. 5.
[2] So Cobet, Herwerden: προνάου V.
[3] So Beloch: ἐν ναυσὶ H.
[4] So Dindorf: ἀπολιπομένους H.
[5] So Dindorf: τῆς H.

gods; for the god, and with him the White Maidens, would protect all. As there were in the sacred precinct two temples of extreme antiquity, one of Athena Pronaia and one of Artemis, they assumed that these goddesses were the "White Maidens" named in the oracle.[1]

10. Pyrrhus, after settling matters in Syracuse and Leontini, set out with an army for Acragas. While he was on the way, men of Enna[2] arrived, saying that they had expelled the Carthaginian garrison, which they had kept to prevent Phintias from becoming their ruler, and promising to hand over their city to Pyrrhus and become his allies. Pyrrhus, taking his army with him . . . he arrived at Acragas and took over from Sosistratus the city and the soldiers, eight thousand infantry and eight hundred horsemen, all picked men, no whit inferior to the men of Epirus. He also took over thirty cities that Sosistratus ruled. He then sent to Syracuse and brought siege engines and a great quantity of missiles. He marched against the territory subject to the Carthaginians with an army of thirty thousand infantry, fifteen hundred cavalry[3] and his elephants. He subdued first the city of Heracleia, which had a Carthaginian garrison. He then seized Azones. The people of Selinus then came over to the king, and 278–276 B.C.

[1] The "White Maidens" appeared as a blinding snowstorm, during which the Greeks successfully attacked the Gauls.
[2] The unemended text has "men arrived in ships."
[3] Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 22, gives the number as 2500.

[6] Rhodoman notes the omission of a number after καί. Capps would add τούς.
[7] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἠγάγετο H, προσηγάγετο Dindorf.

ʽΑλικυαῖοι[1] καὶ Αἰγεσταῖοι καὶ ἄλλαι πλεῖσται
3 πόλεις. Ἐρυκίνης δὲ ἐχούσης φρουρὰν ἀξιόλογον Καρχηδονίων καὶ φύσιν ἐχούσης ὀχυρὰν καὶ δυσπολιόρκητον, ἔκρινεν ὁ Πύρρος βίᾳ ταύτην ἐξελεῖν διὰ πολιορκίας. διὸ καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι προσαγαγὼν μηχανάς, καὶ πολιορκίας μεγάλης γενομένης καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, βουλόμενος φιλοδοξῆσαι ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πρὸς[2] τὴν Ἡρακλέους τάξιν ἁμιλλώμενος, πρῶτος τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπέβαλε καὶ μάχην ἡρωικὴν συστησάμενος τοὺς ἐπιρράξαντας Καρχηδονίους ἀπέκτεινε· συνεπιλαβομένων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων, κατὰ κράτος εἷλε τὴν πόλιν.
4 φρουρὰν δὲ καταστήσας ἐν αὐτῇ, ἀπῆρε[3] πρὸς τὴν Ἰαιτίνων[4] πόλιν, ὀχυρότητι διαφέρουσαν καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Πανόρμου καλῶς κειμένην. τῶν δὲ Ἰαιτίνων ἑκουσίως προσχωρησάντων, εὐθὺς ἧκεν ἐπὶ τῶν Πανορμιτῶν πόλιν, ἔχουσαν λιμένα κάλλιστον τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν,[5] ἀφ᾽ οὗ καὶ τὴν πόλιν συμβέβηκε τετευχέναι ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας. εἷλε δὲ καὶ ταύτην κατὰ κράτος· καὶ τῶν Ἑρκτῶν κατασχὼν τὸ ὀχύρωμα, πάσης τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἐπεκράτησε δυνάμεως καὶ κύριος ἐγένετο πλὴν τοῦ Λιλυβαίου· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πόλις ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐκτίσθη μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Καρχηδονίων Μοτύης ὑπὸ

1 So Rhodoman: Ἀλιηναῖοι H.
2 πρὸς added by Dindorf, who, however, reads δόξαν for τάξιν (cp. Book 11. 84. 2).
3 So Wesseling: ἐπῆρε H.
4 So Dindorf: Αἰγίνων H, Ἰετινῶν Rhodoman. H has τῶν δὲ Ἰετινῶν just below.
5 So Rhodoman: τὴν κατὰ Σικελῶν H.

then the people of Halicyae, of Segesta, and of many other cities. Although Eryx had a considerable garrison of Carthaginians and is by nature strong and not easily stormed, yet Pyrrhus determined to take it forcibly by siege. Hence he brought up his engines against the walls, and a mighty and violent siege took place and continued for a long time, until the king, desiring to win high renown and vying to rank with Heracles,[1] personally led an assault on the walls; putting up an heroic fight, he slew the Carthaginians who stormed against him, and when the king's "Friends"[2] also joined in the struggle, he took the city by storm. After stationing a garrison there, he set out for the city of Iaetia, a place of exceptional strength, favourably situated for an attack on[3] Panormus. The people of Iaetia yielded of their own accord, whereupon he advanced at once to the city of Panormus, which has the finest harbour in all Sicily, whence, in fact, the city received this, its name.[4] This place also he took by storm, and when he gained control of the fortress of Herctae, he had now overcome the whole empire of Carthage and become its master, except for Lilybaeum. This city had been founded by the Carthaginians after their city of Motya had been captured by the tyrant

1 Plutarch (*loc. cit.*) states that Pyrrhus invoked the aid of Heracles and vowed to institute games and a sacrifice in his honour.
2 Cp. οἱ φίλοι or οἱ φίλοι τοῦ βασιλέως in Ptolemaic documents.
3 Or perhaps "favourably situated near."
4 The word is a compound of "all" and "harbour," and appears as an adjective in Homer with the sense "always fit for mooring in." Despite the Greek name, the city was Phoenician and remained in Carthaginian hands, except for the interlude under Pyrrhus, until captured by Rome in 254 B.C. It is the modern Palermo.

Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου. τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης ὑπολειφθέντας ἀθροίσαντες κατῴκισαν εἰς τὸ Λιλύ-
5 βαιον. τοῦ δὲ Πύρρου περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ταύτης παρασκευαζομένου, διεβίβασαν ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον· πολὺν δὲ σῖτον ἐκόμισαν θαλασσοκρατοῦντες, μηχανὰς δὲ καὶ βέλη[1] πλῆθος ἄπιστον. οὔσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ἐν θαλάσσῃ, τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς προσόδους ἐτείχισαν καὶ πύργους πυκνοὺς ἐποίησαν, καὶ τάφρον ὀρύξαντες μέγαν, διεπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὑπὲρ διαλύσεως καὶ εἰρήνης . . .[2] συνθέσθαι καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος
6 δοῦναι. τοῦ βασιλέως χρήματα λαβεῖν μὴ προσδεχομένου, πεισθέντος δὲ τὸ[3] Λιλύβαιον συγχωρῆσαι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις, οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου φίλοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀποκαλοῦντες ἐκέλευον[4] μηδενὶ τρόπῳ συγχωρεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπιβάθραν ἔχειν κατὰ τῆς Σικελίας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἁπάσης αὐτῆς ἐξελάσαι τοὺς Φοίνικας καὶ διορίσαι τῷ πελάγει τὴν ἐπαρχίαν. εὐθὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς πλησίον τῶν τειχῶν καταστρατοπεδεύσας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συνεχεῖς τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐποιεῖτο προσβολὰς ἐκ διαδοχῆς· ἠμύναντο δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς
7 παρασκευῆς. τοσοῦτον γὰρ πλῆθος καταπελτῶν ὀξυβελῶν τε καὶ πετροβόλων ἤθροιστο παρὰ Καρχηδονίων ὥστε τὸ τεῖχος μὴ χωρεῖν τὸ πλῆθος[5] τῆς παρασκευῆς. διὸ καὶ βελῶν παντοδαπῶν ἀφιεμέ-

[1] μηχανῶν . . . βελῶν suggested by Wesseling, τὸ πλῆθος ἄπιστα by Kallenberg.
[2] Hoeschel, Rhodoman add ἕτοιμοι.
[3] So Wesseling: τὸν H.

Dionysius,[1] for they had gathered together all the survivors of Motya and settled them in Lilybaeum. While Pyrrhus was making ready to lay siege to this city, the Carthaginians brought over from Libya to Lilybaeum a considerable army, and having control of the seas, they transported a large amount of grain, and engines of war and missiles in incredible quantities. Since most of the city is surrounded by the sea,[2] they walled off the land approaches, constructed towers at short intervals, and dug a great ditch. They then sent an embassy to the king to discuss a truce and peace, for they were ready to come to terms and even to pay a large sum of money. Though the king refused to accept money he was prevailed upon to concede Lilybaeum to the Carthaginians; but the king's "Friends" who were taking part in the meeting and the delegates from the cities called him aside and urged him under no circumstances to grant the barbarians a stepping-stone for an attack on Sicily, but rather to drive the Phoenicians out of the entire island and to make the sea the boundary of his domain. The king immediately encamped near the walls, and at first made constant attacks with relays of troops against them. But the Carthaginians were able to defend themselves because of the number of their fighters and the abundance of their equipment. For the Carthaginians had collected so great a number of catapults, both dart-shooters and stone-throwers, that there was not room on the walls for all the equipment. And so, as missiles of all sorts

[1] In 397 B.C. For the story see Book 14. 47 ff.
[2] It is situated on a promontory.

---

[4] ἐκέλευον added by Capps.
[5] τεῖχος . . . πλῆθος] So Reiske: πλῆθος . . . τεῖχος H.

νων[1] ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας, πολλῶν[2] πιπτόντων, πολλῶν δὲ τραυματιζομένων, ἠλαττοῦτο Πύρρος. ἐπεβάλετο κρείττονας[3] μηχανὰς[4] ὁ βασιλεὺς κατασκευάζειν τῶν ἐκ Συρακούσης ἐνεχθεισῶν[5] αὐτῷ, καὶ διὰ τῆς μεταλλείας ἐπεβάλετο τὰ τείχη σαλεῦσαι. τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων ἀντιμαχομένων διὰ τὸ πετρώδη εἶναι τὸν τόπον, δύο μῆνας πολιορκήσας καὶ ἀπογνοὺς τὴν ἐκ τῆς βίας ἅλωσιν, ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν. κρίνας οὖν στόλον μέγαν κατασκευάζειν, καὶ διὰ τούτου[6] θαλασσοκρατήσας δυνάμεις πρὸς Λιβύην διαβιβάζειν, ἔτρεπε τὴν ὁρμήν. (*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 497-499 W.)

11. Ὅτι Πύρρος προτερήσας περιβοήτῳ νίκῃ τοὺς τῶν Γαλατῶν θυρεοὺς ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰτωνίδος[7] Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λαφύρων τὰ πολυτελέστατα, τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τήνδε ποιησάμενος,

Τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοττὸς Ἰτωνίδι[7] δῶρον Ἀθηνᾷ
  Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατῶν
πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελὼν στρατόν. οὐ[8] μέγα θαῦμα·
  αἰχματαὶ καὶ[9] νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαι.

2 Συνειδότες οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἠσεβηκόσι τηλικαῦτα προσεδόκων εἰκότως τεύξεσθαι τῆς ἁρμοζούσης τοῖς ἀνομήμασι τιμωρίας. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 347.)

[1] So Wesseling: ἀχθομένων H.
[2] Hoeschel, Rhodoman suggest καὶ πολλῶν μέν.
[3] So Post: καὶ αὐτὸς H.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: μηχαναῖς H.
[5] So Post: ἐναχθεισῶν H, ἀναχθεισῶν Dindorf.
[6] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: τοῦτο H.
[7] So Mai (cp. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26; Paus. 1. 13. 2; *Anth. Pal.* 6. 130): Τριτωνίδος (Τριτωνίδι below) V.
[8] So Mai (cp. Plut. Paus. *Anth. Pal.*): ὦ or ὧ V.

were hurled against the attackers, and as many of his men fell, and many others received wounds, Pyrrhus was at a disadvantage. The king undertook to construct engines of war more powerful than those he had transported from Syracuse, and to unsettle the walls by mining operations. But the Carthaginians kept up their resistance, since the ground was rocky, and after a siege of two months Pyrrhus despaired of capturing the city by force, and lifted the siege. Deciding to construct a large fleet and, when by this means he should have won mastery of the seas, to transport his forces to Libya, he now bent his efforts towards this.

11. Pyrrhus, having won a famous victory, dedi- 274 B.C.
cated the long shields of the Gauls and the most valuable of the other spoils in the shrine of Athena Itonis with the following inscription:

These shields, taken from the brave Gauls, the Molossian Pyrrhus hung here as a gift to Athena Itonis, after he had destroyed the entire host of Antigonus. Small wonder: the sons of Aeacus are warriors now even as aforetime.[1]

Being therefore conscious that they[2] had committed acts of impiety so great, they expected, with good reason, to suffer punishment befitting their crimes.

[1] In the *Palatine Anthology* (6. 130) the epigram is ascribed to Leonidas of Tarentum. The sanctuary of Athena Itonis lay between Pherae and Larissa. The Gauls were mercenaries employed by Antigonus Gonatas, but the site of the victory is not recorded.
[2] The Gallic mercenaries of Pyrrhus: see the following fragment.

[9] So Mai: αἰχματε με V, αἰχμῆται καὶ Plut. Paus. *Anth. Pal.*

12. Ὅτι τὰς Αἰγέας διαρπάσας ὁ Πύρρος, ἥτις ἦν ἑστία τῆς Μακεδονικῆς βασιλείας, τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐκεῖσε κατέλιπεν. οἱ δὲ πυθόμενοί τινων ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς τάφους τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι συγκατωρύχθη χρήματα πολλὰ κατά τινα παλαιὰν συνήθειαν, ἅπαντας ἀνέσκαψαν καὶ τυμβωρυχήσαντες τὰ μὲν χρήματα διείλαντο, τὰ δὲ ὀστᾶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων διέρριψαν. ὁ δὲ Πύρρος ἐπὶ τούτοις βλασφημούμενος οὐκ ἐκόλαζε τοὺς βαρβάρους διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις χρείας.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 258.)

13. Τῶν δὲ τὴν Μεσσήνην οἰκούντων Μαμερτίνων ηὐξημένων . . . πολλὰ μὲν φρούρια . . . αὐτοὶ δὲ εὔζωνον ποιήσαντες τὴν δύναμιν ἧκον ἐν τάχει βοηθήσοντες[1] τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ πολεμουμένῃ. ὁ δὲ Ἱέρων ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας,[2] Μύλας κατὰ κράτος ἑλὼν ἐκυρίευσε στρατιωτῶν χιλίων πεντακοσίων. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τἄλλα χωρία χειρούμενος, κατήντησεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμήσελον, κείμενον μεταξὺ Κεντοριπίνων καὶ Ἀγυρίου.[3] ἐχυροῦ δὲ ὄντος καὶ πολλοὺς στρατιώτας ἔχοντος, ἐκπολιορκήσας τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο μὲν κατέσκαψε, τοὺς δὲ φρουροῦντας ἀπολύσας τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἔταξεν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας τάξεις. τῆς δὲ χώρας τὴν μὲν τοῖς Κεντοριπίνοις, τὴν δὲ τοῖς Ἀγυριναίοις[4] ἐδωρήσατο.
2 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἱέρων ἔχων δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Μαμερτίνους, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἅλαισαν[5] παραδόσει[6] προσηγάγετο, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν

[1] So Dindorf: βοηθήσαντες H.
[2] Wurm suggests πολιορκίας (cp. chap. 10. 7).
[3] So Dindorf: Ἀγυραίου H, Ἀγυριναίων Wesseling.
[4] So Wesseling: Ἀγυραίοις H.
[5] So Dindorf: Ἄλεσαν H.

12. After Pyrrhus had sacked Aegeae,[1] the seat of the Macedonian royal family, he left his Gauls there. They, learning from certain informants that in accordance with a certain ancient custom much wealth was buried with the dead at royal funerals, dug up and broke into all the graves, divided up the treasure, and scattered the bones of the dead. Pyrrhus was much reviled because of this, but did not punish the barbarians since he needed them for his wars.

13. Since the Mamertines who inhabited Messana had increased in power . . . many forts . . . and they themselves, having put their army in light array, came in haste to the aid of the territory of Messana which was under attack.[2] But Hiero, after quitting enemy territory, took Mylae by storm and acquired fifteen hundred soldiers. Straightway moving to reduce the other strongholds also, he came to Ameselum, situated between Centuripa and Agyrium. Though Ameselum was well fortified and strongly manned, he captured and razed this fortress to the ground, but dismissed all charges against the men of the garrison, whom he enrolled in his own ranks. Part of the land he gave to the people of Centuripa, part to the people of Agyrium. After this, Hiero with a considerable army waged war against the Mamertines. Halaesa he brought over by surrender, and having been eagerly welcomed by

[1] More commonly called Aegae. Previously known as Edessa, it had been an early capital of Macedonia and was still a religious centre, though politically overshadowed by Pella from 400 B.C. on.
[2] This may refer to the defeat of Hiero's forces by the Mamertines at the river Cyamosorus near Centuripa (Polybius, 1. 9. 3-4).

[6] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: παραδὼς H.

Ἀβακαινίνων καὶ Τυνδαριτῶν προθύμως προσδεχθεὶς ἐκυρίευσε τῶν πόλεων τούτων, καὶ εἰς στενὴν χώραν συνήλασε τοὺς Μαμερτίνους. ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ πελάγους τὴν ἐγγὺς Μεσσήνης εἶχε[1] πόλιν τὴν τῶν Ταυρομενιτῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τυρρηνικοῦ[2] τὴν Τυνδαριτῶν. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ εἰς Μεσσήνην κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὸν Λοίτανον[3] ποταμόν, πεζοὺς ἔχων μυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους πεντακοσίους· ἀντεστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ Μαμερτῖνοι ἔχοντες πεζοὺς ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ μʹ· στρατηγὸν δὲ
3 εἶχον Κίων. οὗτος δὲ μάντεις ἀθροίσας ἱεροσκόπους, θύσας[4] ἐπηρώτησε περὶ τῆς μάχης· τῶν δὲ ἀποφηναμένων ὅτι διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ θεοὶ σημαίνουσι νυκτερεύσειν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῶν πολεμίων, περιχαρὴς ἦν, ὡς κυριεύσων τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοπεδείας. εὐθὺς ἐκτάξας τὴν δύναμιν ἐπει-
4 ρᾶτο διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμόν. Ἱέρων δ᾽ ἔχων τοὺς φυγάδας Μεσσήνης διακοσίους συστρατεύοντας, διαφόρους ταῖς ἀνδρείαις καὶ ἀρεταῖς, προσθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἄλλους τετρακοσίους ἐπιλέκτους προσέταξε τὸν πλησίον λόφον τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Θώρακα περιελθεῖν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ νώτου προσπεσεῖν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκτάξας, κατὰ στόμα ἀπήντα. γενομένης δὲ περὶ τὸ ῥεῖθρον ἱππομαχίας, ἅμα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν ἐκ προστάξεως[5] τοῦ βασιλέως προκατειληφότων ὀφρῦν τινα περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ τόπου πλεονεκτούντων,[6] μέχρι

[1] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: Μεσήνην εἶχον H.
[2] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: Τυρρικοῦ H.
[3] Casaubon suggests Λογγανὸν (cp. Polybius, 1. 9. 7).
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: θύσαι H.

the inhabitants of Abacaenum and Tyndaris, he became master of these cities and drove the Mamertines into a narrow area. For on the Sicilian sea he held the city of Tauromenium, near Messana, and on the Tyrrhenian sea he held Tyndaris. He invaded the territory of Messana, and encamped along the 269 B.C. (?)
Loitanus[1] River with ten thousand foot-soldiers and fifteen hundred cavalry. The Mamertines faced him with eight thousand foot-soldiers and forty (?) cavalry; their general was Ciôs. Now Ciôs assembled diviners to inspect the entrails, and after sacrificing, he questioned them about the battle. When they replied that the gods revealed through the victims that he would pass the night in the encampment of the enemy, he was overjoyed, thinking that he was to gain possession of the king's camp. Immediately he deployed his forces and attempted to cross the river. But Hiero, who had in his army two hundred exiles from Messana, men noted for their courage and deeds of valour, added to them four hundred more picked soldiers, and ordered them to go around the nearby hill, named Thorax, and to fall upon the enemy from the rear. He himself deployed his forces and encountered the enemy in front. There was a cavalry engagement near the stream, and at the same time the infantry, who at the order of the king had occupied a certain mound near the river, gained the advantage of favourable terrain; yet for a while the

[1] Probably, though not certainly, the same as the Longanus of Polybius, 1. 9. 7-8. The chronology of Hiero's career is very uncertain, and the battle of Longanus has been variously dated in 269 and in 264 B.C.

[5] ἐκ προστάξεως Reiske: παρατάξεως H.
[6] So Wesseling: πλεονεκτοῦντος H.

μέν τινος ἰσόρροπος ἦν ὁ κίνδυνος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν[1] λόφον περιελθόντες[2] ἐπέρραξαν παραδόξως τοῖς Μαμερτίνοις καὶ νεαλεῖς ὄντες τοὺς κάμνοντας τῇ μάχῃ ῥᾳδίως ἀνῄρουν, τότε δὴ πανταχόθεν κυκλωθέντες πρὸς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. ἐπικειμένων τῶν
5 Συρακοσίων δυνάμει, πάντας κατέκοψαν. ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς τῶν Μαμερτίνων ἀγωνιζόμενος ἐκθύμως[3] καὶ περιπεσὼν πολλοῖς τραύμασι καὶ λιποψυχήσας ἐζωγρήθη.[4] οὗτος ἀνεκομίσθη ἔμπνους εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως παρεμβολὴν καὶ παρεδόθη ἰατροῖς εἰς θεραπείαν. καὶ[5] κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἱεροσκόπων πρόρρησιν[6] νυκτερεύσαντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων παρεμβολήν, τοῦ βασιλέως δὲ θέλοντος περὶ πολλοῦ θεραπεῦσαι τὸν Κίων, ἧκόν τινες ἵππους φέροντες ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου εἰς τὸν
6 βασιλέα. ὁ Κίως δὲ ἐπιγνοὺς τὸν τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ ἵππον ὑπέλαβεν ἀνῃρῆσθαι τὸν νεανίσκον. περιαλγὴς δὲ γενόμενος τὰς ῥαφὰς τῶν τραυμάτων διέρρηξε, τὴν ἀπώλειαν τοῦ τέκνου θανάτου[7] τιμησάμενος. οἱ δὲ Μαμερτῖνοι, ἀπαγγελίας γενομένης ὅτι σὺν τῷ στρατηγῷ Κίῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ στρατιῶται πάντες ἀπολώλασιν, ἔκριναν μεθ' ἱκετηρίας ἀπαντᾶν τῷ βασιλεῖ. οὐ μὴν ἡ τύχη εἴασε παντελῶς πεσεῖν
7 τὰ κατὰ Μαμερτίνους πράγματα. Ἀννίβας γὰρ ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς ἔτυχεν ὁρμῶν ἐν τῇ Λιπάρας νήσῳ.[8] ἀκούσας δὲ τὸ παράδοξον ἧκε

[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν Wesseling: ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν H.
[2] So Reiske: διελθόντες H. [3] So Reiske: ἑκουσίως H.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: διωγρήθη H.

battle was evenly balanced. But when those who had gone around the hill also charged the Mamertines unexpectedly and slew them with no difficulty, since they were fresh and the enemy were battle-worn, then the Mamertines, surrounded on all sides, took to flight, and the Syracusans, attacking in force, cut the whole army to pieces. The general of the Mamertines fought desperately, but after he had received many wounds and had fallen to the ground unconscious he was captured alive. He was carried still breathing to the encampment of the king, and was handed over to the physicians for treatment. Now when he thus, in accordance with the prophecy and the prediction of the soothsayers, had spent the night in the enemy's camp, and the king, moreover, was solicitous to restore Ciôs to health, certain men arrived bringing horses from the battle to the king, and Ciôs, recognizing his son's horse, supposed that the youth had been killed. In his excessive grief he burst the stitches of his wounds and by his own death set the price at which he rated the destruction of his son. As for the Mamertines, when the news was brought to them that Ciôs their general and all their soldiers as well had perished, they decided to come before the king as suppliants. Fortune did not, however, permit the utter collapse of the Mamertine cause. For Hannibal, the general of the Carthaginians, happened to be moored at the island of Lipara. When he heard the unexpected news, he came post-

[5] καὶ added by Walton. The Vulgate joins this clause (to παρεμβολήν) with the preceding sentence.
[6] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: πρόσρησιν H.
[7] So Hertlein, Dindorf[4]: θανάτῳ H.
[8] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: νήσοις H.

κατὰ τάχος εἰς τὸν βασιλέα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ συγχαίρων, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ σπεύδων τὸν Ἱέρωνα καταστρατηγῆσαι δι' ἀπάτης. ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς πεισθεὶς τῷ Φοίνικι τὰς ἡσυχίας ἔσχεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας παρελθὼν εἰς Μεσσήνην καὶ καταλαβὼν Μαμερτίνους μέλλοντας παραδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν ἀνέπεισε, καὶ προσποιησάμενος βοήθειαν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν στρατιώτας μ'. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μαμερτῖνοι ἀπογνόντες ἑαυτῶν διὰ τὴν ἧτταν, πάλιν ἀπεκατε-
8 στάθησαν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον. ὁ δὲ Ἱέρων καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φοίνικος, τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀπογνοὺς ἐπανῆλθε εἰς Συρακόσας, περιβόητον εὐημερίαν[1] περιπεποιημένος.

9 Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Ἱέρων, ἀποπεπτωκότες τῆς Μεσσήνης, συνῆλθον εἰς σύλλογον καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιησάμενοι συνέθεντο κοινῇ πολεμῆσαι Μεσσήνην.

(*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 499-500 W.)

[1] So Rhodoman: ἀημερίαν H.

haste to the king, ostensibly to offer his congratulations, but in reality seeking to outmanœuvre Hiero by deceit. The king trusted the Phoenician and remained inactive. Hannibal turned aside to Messana, and finding the Mamertines on the point of handing over the city, he dissuaded them, and on the pretext of lending aid, introduced into the city forty (?) soldiers. Thus the Mamertines, who because of their defeat had despaired of their cause, were restored to security in the manner just described. Hiero, outwitted by the Phoenician, abandoned the siege as hopeless and returned to Syracuse, having achieved a resounding success.[1]

The Carthaginians and Hiero, after the former[2] c. 264 B.C.
had been driven out of Messana, held a conference, and when they had arranged a treaty of alliance, they agreed on a joint attack on Messana.

[1] The phrase probably refers to the story that Hiero, on his return to Syracuse after the victory at Longanus, was proclaimed king (Polybius, 1. 9. 8).

[2] This seems to be the meaning (cp. Polybius, 1. 11. 4-7), though the passage is clearly corrupt.

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXIII

1. Ὅτι Σικελία πασῶν τῶν νήσων καλλίστη ὑπάρχει, ὡς μεγάλα δυναμένη συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς αὔξησιν ἡγεμονίας.

2 Ὅτι Ἄννων ὁ Ἀννίβου εἰς Σικελίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀθροίσας εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον, προῆλθε μέχρι Σολοῦντος, καὶ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν ἀπέλιπε πλησίον τῆς πόλεως παρεμβεβληκυῖαν, αὐτὸς δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀκράγαντα τὴν ἄκραν ἐτείχισε, πείσας τὸν δῆμον φίλον ὄντα συμμαχῆσαι Καρχηδονίων.[1] ἐπανελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν στρατοπεδείαν, ἧκον παρὰ Ἱέρωνος πρέσβεις περὶ τοῦ κοινῇ[2] συμφέροντος. ἐποιήσαντο γὰρ συμμαχίαν Ῥωμαίους πολεμῆσαι, ἐὰν μὴ τὴν ταχίστην
3 ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας ἀπαλλάττωνται. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀγαγόντων ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην, Ἱέρων μὲν ἐπὶ[3] τοῦ λόφου τοῦ καλουμένου Χαλκιδικοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν, οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τῇ πεζῇ στρατιᾷ παρενέβαλον εἰς τὰς καλουμένας Εὐνεῖς, τῇ δὲ ναυτικῇ κατέσχον τὴν ἄκραν τὴν καλουμένην Πελωριάδα· συνεχῶς δ' ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν Μεσσή-

[1] Καρχηδονίοις Hoeschel, Rhodoman; Dindorf suggests placing Καρχηδονίων after ὄντα.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIII

1. Sicily is the noblest of all islands, since it can contribute greatly to the growth of an empire.

Hanno, the son of Hannibal, went to Sicily, and 264 B.C.
having gathered his forces at Lilybaeum, advanced to Solus; his land force he left encamped near the city, while he himself went on to Acragas and fortified its citadel, after having persuaded the citizens, who were already friendly to the Carthaginians, to become their allies. Upon his return to his own encampment, envoys came to him from Hiero to discuss their common interest; for they had formed an alliance to make war on the Romans unless these should quit Sicily with all speed.[1] When both had brought their armies to Messana, Hiero pitched camp on the Chalcidian Mount, while the Carthaginians encamped with their land army at a place called Eunes,[2] and with their naval force seized the headland called Pelorias; and they kept Messana under continuous

[1] It is not clear from the present narrative what Romans were in Sicily at this point. Possibly there is a reference here to the small force under the command of C. Claudius, a military tribune, sent ahead to Messana by the consul (Zonaras, 8. 8).
[2] Polybius, 1. 11. 6, calls the place Synes.

[2] κοινῇ transposed by Reiske from a position before συμμαχίαν, below. [3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἀπὸ H.

4 νην.[1] ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος πυθόμενος[2] ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἕτερον ὕπατον καλούμενον Ἄππιον Κλαύδιον μετὰ δυνάμεως ἁδρᾶς, ὃς εὐθὺς ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥήγιον. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἱέρωνα καὶ Καρχηδονίους πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψε περὶ διαλύσεως τῆς πολιορκίας. προσεπηγγέλλετο . . . δημογορεῖν δὲ πρὸς Ἱέρωνα πολέμῳ[3] μὴ ἐπιβήσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἱέρων ἀπεκρίνατο διότι Μαμερτῖνοι Καμάριναν καὶ Γέλαν ἀναστάτους πεποιηκότες, Μεσσήνην δὲ ἀσεβέστατα κατειληφότες, δικαίως πολιορκοῦνται, Ῥωμαῖοι[4] δέ, θρυλλοῦντες τὸ τῆς πίστεως ὄνομα, παντελῶς οὐκ ὀφείλουσι τοὺς μιαιφόνους, μάλιστα πίστεως καταφρονήσαντας, ὑπερασπίζειν· εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἀσεβεστάτων[5] τηλικοῦτον ἐπαναιροῦνται πόλεμον, φανεροὺς ἔσεσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι τῆς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας πρόφασιν πορίζονται τὸν τῶν κινδυνευόντων ἔλεον, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς Σικελίας ἐπιθυμοῦσιν.

(*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 500-501 W.)

2. Ὅτι Φοίνικες καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ναυμαχήσαντες, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εὐλαβούμενοι τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ προκειμένου πολέμου, διεπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον περὶ φιλίας. πολλῶν δὲ λόγων ῥηθέντων καὶ τραχυτέροις λόγοις χρωμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἱ Φοίνικες θαυμάζειν ἔφασαν πῶς διαβαίνειν τολμῶσιν εἰς Σικελίαν Ῥωμαῖοι θαλαττοκρατούντων Καρχηδονίων· φανερὸν γὰρ εἶναι πᾶσιν ὅτι μὴ τηροῦντες τὴν φιλίαν οὐδὲ νίψασθαι τὰς χεῖρας ἐκ

[1] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: δὲ πολιορκούντων Μεσήνην H.
[2] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: πειθόμενος H.
[3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: πόλεμον H.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: Ῥωμαίοις H.

siege. When the Roman people learned this, they sent one of the consuls, Appius Claudius by name, with a strong force, who went straightway to Rhegium. He dispatched envoys to Hiero and the Carthaginians to discuss the raising of the siege. He kept promising in addition . . . but to state publicly that he would not proceed against Hiero with war. Hiero replied that the Mamertines, who had laid waste Camarina and Gela and had seized Messana in so impious a manner, were besieged with just cause, and that the Romans, harping as they did on the word *fides*, certainly ought not to protect assassins who had shown the greatest contempt for good faith; but if, on behalf of men so utterly godless, they should enter upon a war of such magnitude, it would be clear to all mankind that they were using pity for the imperilled as a cloak for their own advantage, and that in reality they coveted Sicily.

2. The Phoenicians and Romans fought a naval battle; afterwards, in consideration of the magnitude of the war that lay before them, they[1] sent envoys to the consul to discuss terms of friendship. There was much discussion, and both sides engaged in acrimonious debate: the Phoenicians said that they marvelled how the Romans could venture to cross over into Sicily, inasmuch as the Carthaginians had control of the seas; for it was obvious to all that if they did not maintain friendly relations, the Romans

[1] The Carthaginians. Here, as so often, the opening words of the excerpt are a careless paraphrase. The naval battle is perhaps the skirmish in which C. Claudius lost a number of triremes (Dio Cassius, 11. 43. 7, and Zonaras, 8. 8).

[5] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἀσεβεστάτην H.

τῆς θαλάσσης τολμήσουσιν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι συμβουλεύειν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἔφασαν μὴ διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς τὰ κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν πολυπραγμονεῖν· μαθητὰς γὰρ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀεὶ ὄντας γίνεσθαι κρείττους τῶν διδασκάλων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ παλαιὸν αὐτῶν θυρεοῖς τετραγώνοις χρωμένων, Τυρρηνοὶ χαλκαῖς ἀσπίσι φαλαγγομαχοῦντες καὶ προτρεψάμενοι τὸν ὅμοιον ἀναλαβεῖν ὁπλισμὸν ἡττήθησαν. ἔπειτα πάλιν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν θυρεοῖς χρωμένων οἷς[1] νῦν ἔχουσι καὶ κατὰ σπείρας[2] μαχομένων, ἀμφότερα μιμησάμενοι περιεγένοντο τῶν εἰσηγησαμένων τὰ καλὰ τῶν παραδειγμάτων. παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες πολιορκεῖν καὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς καταβάλλειν τὰ τείχη, τὰς πόλεις τῶν διδαξάντων ἠνάγκασαν ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον. καὶ νῦν ἂν Καρχηδόνιοι βιάσωνται[3] μαθεῖν αὐτοὺς ναυμαχεῖν, ταχὺ τοὺς μαθητὰς τῶν διδασκάλων ὄψονται περιγενομένους.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 347-348.)

2 Ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι πρῶτον ἀσπίδας τετραγώνους εἶχον εἰς τὸν πόλεμον· ὕστερον ἰδόντες Τυρρηνοὺς χαλκᾶς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντας, ποιήσαντες οὕτως ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς.

3. Ὅτι διαπεράσαντος τοῦ ὑπάτου εἰς Μεσσήνην, ὁ Ἱέρων νομίζων προδοθῆναι τὴν διάβασιν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἔφυγεν εἰς Συρακόσας. Καρχηδονίων

[1] *οἵοις* Herwerden.
[2] *κατὰ σπείρας* Walton : *πειραῖς* V, *σπείραις* Wurm.
[3] So Boissevain : *..᾽..ωνται* V. Mai read *διὰ ταῦτα*.

[1] According to the *Ineditum Vaticanum* (H. von Arnim, *Hermes* 27 [1892], 118 ff.) chap. 3, which closely parallels

would not dare even to wash their hands in the sea. The Romans,[1] for their part, advised the Carthaginians not to teach them to meddle with maritime affairs, since the Romans, so they asserted, were pupils who always outstripped their masters. For example, in ancient times, when they were using rectangular shields,[2] the Etruscans, who fought with round shields of bronze and in phalanx formation, impelled them to adopt similar arms and were in consequence defeated. Then again, when other peoples [3] were using shields such as the Romans now use, and were fighting by maniples, they had imitated both and had overcome those who introduced the excellent models. From the Greeks they had learned siegecraft and the use of engines of war for demolishing walls, and had then forced the cities of their teachers to do their bidding. So now, should the Carthaginians compel them to learn naval warfare, they would soon see that the pupils had become superior to their teachers.

At first the Romans had rectangular shields for war, but later, when they saw that the Etruscans had bronze shields, they copied them and thus conquered the Etruscans.

3. After the consul had crossed over to Messana, Hiero, thinking that the Carthaginians had treacherously permitted the crossing, fled to Syracuse. The

this passage, the spokesman for the Romans was a certain Kaeso. Cp. also Dio Cassius, 11. 43. 9, and Zonaras, 8. 9.

[2] *θυρεός* represents the Latin *scutum*, and *ἀσπίς* the Latin *clipeus*, but there is no other evidence for the exact nature of this primitive *scutum*, which is not to be confused with the later *scutum* referred to in the following sentence.

[3] The Samnites, according to the *Ineditum Vaticanum* and Athenaeus, 6. 273 f.

δὲ πολεμησάντων καὶ ἡττηθέντων, τὴν Ἐχέτλαν[1] ὁ ὕπατος ἐπολιόρκησε, καὶ στρατιώτας πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν εἰς Μεσσήνην ἀνέζευξεν.[2]

4. Ὅτι τῶν ὑπάτων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς Σικελίαν ἐλθόντων καὶ τὴν Ἁδρανιτῶν πόλιν πολιορκησάντων, εἷλον κατὰ κράτος. εἶτα τὴν Κεντοριπίνων πολιορκούντων καὶ πρὸς ταῖς χαλκαῖς πύλαις[3] καθημένων,[4] ἧκον πρέσβεις πρῶτον παρ' Ἁλαισίνων[5]· εἶτα δειλίας πεσούσης καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ἐπηγγείλαντο[6] ἐπιδώσειν τὰς πόλεις Ῥωμαίοις· ἦσαν δὲ ἑξήκοντα ἑπτά. ὧν παραλαβόντες τὰς δυνάμεις, εἰς Συράκοσαν ἦλθον πολιορκήσοντες[7] Ἱέρωνα. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἀγανακτοῦντας, πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάτους περὶ διαλύσεως. οἱ δὲ σπεύδοντες πρὸς μόνους Καρχηδονίους διαπολεμεῖν ἀσμένως ὑπήκουσαν, καὶ συνέθεντο εἰρήνην ἐπ'[8] ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα, λαβόντες δραχμῶν ιε' μυριάδας, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδόντι κυριεύειν συνεχώρησαν[9] Συρακοσίων[10] καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν[11] πόλεων, Ἀκρῶν, Λεοντίνων, Μεγαρέων, Αἰλώρων, Νεαιτίνων, Ταυρομενίων. τούτων πραττομένων κατέπλευσεν Ἀννίβας μετὰ ναυτικῆς

[1] So Holm (cp. Polybius, 1. 15. 10): Αἴγεστα H.
[2] So Dindorf: ἀπέζευξεν H.
[3] So Reiske: αὐλαῖς H.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: καθήμενοι H.
[5] So Cluverius (with Ἀ-): παρὰ Λαισίνων H.
[6] ἐπηγγείλαντο added by Hoeschel, Rhodoman.
[7] So Wesseling: πολιορκήσαντες H.

Carthaginians, however, engaged in battle but were defeated, and the consul then laid siege to Echetla, but after the loss of many soldiers withdrew to Messana.

4. Both consuls[1] went to Sicily, and laying siege to the city of Hadranum took it by storm. Then, while they were besieging the city of Centuripa and were encamped by the Brazen Gates, envoys arrived, first from the people of Halaesa; then, as fear fell upon the other cities as well, they too sent ambassadors to treat for peace and to deliver their cities to the Romans. These cities numbered sixty-seven. The Romans, after adding the forces of these cities to their own, advanced upon Syracuse, intending to besiege Hiero. But Hiero, perceiving the discontent of the Syracusans, sent envoys to the consuls to discuss a settlement, and inasmuch as the Romans were eager to have as their foe the Carthaginians alone, they readily consented and concluded a fifteen-year peace: the Romans received one hundred and fifty thousand[2] drachmas; Hiero, on condition of returning the captives of war, was to continue as ruler of the Syracusans and of the cities subject to him, Acrae, Leontini, Megara, Helorum, Neetum, and Tauromenium. While these things were taking place Hannibal arrived with a naval force at Xiphonia, in- 263 B.C.

[1] M'. Otacilius Crassus and M'. Valerius Maximus Messala.
[2] Polybius, 1. 16. 9, sets the figure at 100 talents. The present sum, equal to 25 talents, was perhaps the initial instalment.

[8] ἐπ' added by Van der Mey.
[9] συνεχώρησαν added by Hoeschel, Rhodoman.
[10] So Rhodoman (with -κου-): Συρακοσίοις H.
[11] So Dindorf: αὐτῶν H.

δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ξιφωνίαν βοηθήσων τῷ βασιλεῖ· μαθὼν δὲ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἀνεχώρησε.

2 Ὅτι Ἁδράνωνα κώμην καὶ Μάκελλαν πολλὰς ἡμέρας πολιορκήσαντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπῆλθον ἄπρακτοι.

5. Ὅτι Αἰγεσταῖοι πρῶτον κρατούμενοι ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέκλιναν. παραπλήσιον δὲ καὶ Ἁλικυαῖοι[1] ἐποίησαν· Ἰλαρὸν δὲ καὶ Τυριττὸν καὶ τὴν Ἄσκελον ἐξεπολιόρκησαν. Τυνδάριοι δὲ ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς ἀπολελειμμένους φόβῳ συσχεθέντες ἠβουλήθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ αὐτοὺς[2] δοῦναι. ὑποπτεύσαντες δὲ Φοίνικες τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἔλαβον ὁμήρους εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον καὶ σῖτον, οἶνον, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀπεκόμισαν.

6. Φιλήμων δὲ ὁ κωμικὸς ἔγραψε δράματα ἐνενήκοντα ἑπτά, βιώσας ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα.

7. Οἱ δὲ πολιορκοῦντες Ἀκράγαντα τὴν πόλιν σὺν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ταφροποιοῦντες καὶ χάρακας βάλλοντες δέκα μυριάδες ὑπῆρχον. πολλὰ δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες ἀντιμαχήσαντες, τὴν πόλιν Ἀκράγαντα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρέδωκαν.

8. Ὅτι Ἄννων ὁ πρεσβύτερος[3] ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης κατὰ[4] τὴν πολιορκίαν Ἀκράγαντος ἐπεραίωσε[5] μεγάλην δύναμιν εἰς Σικελίαν[6], πεζῶν μυριάδας πέντε, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑξακισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἑξή-

[1] So Rhodoman: Ἀλιηναῖοι H.
[2] αὐτοὺς added by Wifstrand.

tending to bring aid to the king, but when he learned what had been done, he departed.

Though the Romans kept Macella and the village of Hadranon[1] under siege for many days, they went away without having accomplished their purpose.

5. The Segestans, though at first subject to the Carthaginians, turned to the Romans. The Halicyaeans acted in a similar fashion; but Ilarus and Tyrittus and Ascelus they[2] took only after a siege. The Tyndarians, seeing themselves deserted, were alarmed and desired to surrender their city, too. But the Phoenicians, becoming suspicious of their intentions, took their leading men as hostages to Lilybaeum, and carried off their grain, wine, and the rest of their provisions. (263 or 262 B.C.)

6. Philemon[3] the comic poet wrote ninety-seven plays and lived ninety-nine years. (262 B.C.)

7. Those who with the Romans were engaged in the siege of Acragas, digging trenches and constructing palisades, numbered one hundred thousand. After prolonged resistance the Phoenicians finally yielded the city of Acragas to the Romans.

8. During the siege of Acragas, Hanno the Elder transported from Libya to Sicily a large army, fifty thousand infantry, six thousand cavalry, and sixty

[1] The designation "village" seems to distinguish this place from the city Hadranum mentioned above.
[2] Presumably the Romans. The sites of the three towns are not known.
[3] A native of Syracuse, he acquired Athenian citizenship, and was a rival of Menander. He died in this year.

[3] ὁ after πρεσβύτερος deleted by Hoeschel.
[4] So Wesseling: μετὰ H.
[5] So Nock: ἐπέρασε H.
[6] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἐν Σικελίᾳ H.

κοντα. Φιλῖνος δὲ ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος ἱστορικὸς ἀνεγράψατο. ὁ δὲ οὖν Ἄννων ἀναζεύξας μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ τοῦ Λιλυβαίου παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἡράκλειαν, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἦλθόν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες τὸν Ἑρβησσὸν παραδώσειν. Ἄννων δὲ πολεμήσας ἐν δυσὶ μάχαις ἀπέβαλε στρατιώτας πεζοὺς μὲν τρισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς διακοσίους, ζωγρίας δὲ τετρακισχιλίους· ἐλέφαντας ὀκτὼ[1] θανεῖν, τριάκοντα τρεῖς δὲ κατατραυματισθῆναι.

2 Ὅτι πόλις ἦν καὶ ἡ Ἔντελλα.[2]

3 Ὁ δὲ Ἄννων βουλευσάμενος ἐμφρόνως ἑνὶ στρατηγήματι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἅμα καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνεῖλεν.

9. Ἓξ δὲ μῆνας παρακαθίσαντες οὕτω παρέλαβον
Ἀκράγαντα, δούλους ἀπάραντες[3] ἅπαντας πλέον
τῶν δισμυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων. ἀπέβαλον δὲ
καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πεζοὺς μὲν τρισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ
2 μφ'.[4] Ἄννωνα δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐζημίωσαν
χρυσοῖς ἑξακισχιλίοις ἀτιμάσαντες· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου
στρατηγὸν ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Σικελίαν Ἀμίλκαν.
3 Μυτίστρατον[5] δὲ πολιορκήσαντες Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ
πολλὰς μηχανὰς ποιήσαντες, μετὰ μῆνας ἑπτὰ
ἀνεχώρησαν ἄπρακτοι, πολλοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπο-
4 βαλόντες. Ἀμίλκας δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις συναντήσας

[1] Hoeschel, Rhodoman suggest συνέβη (for η'?), and Rhodoman punctuates θανεῖν τριάκοντα, τρεῖς δὲ κατατρ.
[2] So Wesseling: Ἐντελλῖνα H.
[3] So Van der Mey: δὲ ἄραντες H.
[4] The number is suspect, μ perhaps standing for M (*mille*).
[5] So Wesseling: Μύστρατον H.

[1] For Philinus see Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 174, and the judge-

elephants. Philinus of Acragas,[1] the historian, has recorded this. Be that as it may, Hanno marched out from Lilybaeum with all his troops and had reached Heracleia when certain men arrived and declared that they would betray Herbessus[2] to him. Hanno fought two battles,[3] in which he lost three thousand infantry, two hundred cavalry, and had four thousand men taken prisoner; eight elephants were killed and thirty-three disabled by wounds.

Entella too was a city.

Hanno adopted a clever plan and by a single 261 B.C.
stratagem destroyed both the malcontents[4] and the public foe.

9. After a siege of six months they became masters 262/1 B.C.
of Acragas in the manner described and carried off all the slaves,[5] to the number of more than twenty-five thousand. But the Romans also suffered losses, thirty thousand infantry and fifteen hundred (?) cavalry. The Carthaginians stripped Hanno of his civic rights, fined him six thousand pieces of gold, and in his stead sent Hamilcar to Sicily as commander. The Romans laid siege to Mytistratus and constructed many siege engines, but seven months later, having lost many men, they went away empty-handed. Hamilcar encountered the Romans at Thermae, and

ment of Polybius, 1. 14-15. On the siege of Acragas see Polybius, 1. 17-19.

[2] Herbessus was the chief Roman base of supplies; cp. Polybius, 1. 18. 5.

[3] See Polybius, 1. 19. In the first battle Hanno was superior.

[4] 4000 Gallic mercenaries in his army; the story is related in Frontinus, *Strat.* 3. 16. 3.

[5] Or, "all as slaves." Zonaras, 8. 10, says that the whole citizen body was sold into slavery. For the size and wealth of Acragas at an earlier period see Book 13. 84.

εἰς Θέρμας καὶ πολεμήσας, ἐνίκησε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἑξακισχιλίους, παρ' ὀλίγον δὲ ὅλην τὴν δύναμιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ Μάζαριν φρούριον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐξηνδραποδισμένον. Ἀμίλκας δὲ ὁ Καρχηδόνιος Καμάριναν ὑπὸ προδοτῶν παρέλαβε δεύτερον· μετ' ὀλίγας δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς Ἔννης ἐκυρίευσεν ὃν τρόπον καὶ Καμαρίνης. τὸ δὲ Δρέπανον τειχίσας καὶ πόλιν καταστήσας μετῴκισε τοὺς Ἐρυκίνους,[1] καὶ τὸν Ἔρυκα κατέσκαψε πλὴν τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν[2] τόπου. τρίτον δὲ πολιορκήσαντες τὴν Μυτίστρατον[3] Ῥωμαῖοι εἷλον καὶ κατέσκαψαν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα σώματα λαφυροπωλήσαντες.
5 μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ εἰς Καμάριναν ἦλθον, καὶ ταύτῃ[4] παρακαθίσας ἑλεῖν οὐκ ἐδυνήθη· ὕστερον δὲ παρ' Ἱέρωνος πολεμικὰ ὄργανα μεταστειλάμενος, τὴν πόλιν εἷλε καὶ τὰ σώματα τὰ πλείονα[5] Καμαριναίων ἐπώλησεν. εὐθὺς δὲ ὑπὸ προδοτῶν καὶ τὴν Ἔνναν εἷλε· καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν οἱ μὲν ἀνῃρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ ἐξέφυγον πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους. εἶτα ἐπὶ Σιττάναν ἐλθὼν κατὰ κράτος ταύτην εἷλε. εἶτα ὁμοίως ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι φρουρὰν καταστήσας, ἐπὶ Καμικὸν ἦλθε, φρούριον Ἀκραγαντίνων· εἷλε καὶ αὐτὸ προδοσίᾳ· τὸν δὲ τόπον ἔμφρουρον κατέστησεν. ἐξε-

[1] So Wesseling: Ἐριηνοὺς H.
[2] τὸ ἱερὸν Hoeschel, Rhodoman: τοῦ ἱεροῦ H.
[3] So Wesseling: Μήστρακον H.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ταύτας H.
[5] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: πλεῖον H.

[1] 4000, according to Polybius, 1. 24. 4, who also states that those defeated were not the Romans but the allies, who were

having engaged them in battle, was victorious and slew six thousand men,[1] very nearly the whole army. The fort of Mazarin[2] also was taken by the Romans and the people enslaved. Hamilcar the Carthaginian, with the aid of traitors, got possession of Camarina for the second time, and a few days later made himself master of Enna in the same way. Having fortified Drepanum and set up a city, he removed thither the Erycinians and demolished Eryx except for the area about the temple. The Romans, having put Mytistratus under siege for the third time, captured it, razed the city to the ground, and sold the surviving inhabitants as spoils of war. They then advanced to Camarina and he[3] encamped beside it, but was unable to take it; but later, having sent to Hiero for engines of war, he captured the city, and sold into slavery most of the inhabitants. Immediately thereafter, with the help of traitors, he captured Enna too; of the garrison some were slain, others got away safely to their allies. Then he advanced to Sittana[4] and took it by assault. Then, having established a garrison there, as in the other cities, he went on to Camicus a fortress belonging to Acragas. This place too he took by treachery, and stationed a garrison there.

260 B.C.

258 B.C.

encamped separately. Wesseling's statement, perpetuated by Dindorf, that Hoeschel gives the figure as 9000 slain, rests on a misunderstanding of a typographical error, the numeral in Hoeschel being simply inverted. Why the upended symbol was then construed as signifying 9000 is unclear, though Hoeschel does use an inverted ϛ (6) for ϙ (90), as in chap. 6, *supra*. Rhodoman prints the disputed figure correctly.

[2] Probably Mazara, in the territory of Selinus.

[3] The subject suddenly shifts to the singular, probably as the result of some condensation in the narrative.

[4] Perhaps identical with Hippana (Polybius, 1. 24. 11).

λείφθη δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ Ἑρβησσός.[1] ἔτι δὲ ποταμὸς Ἅλυκος καὶ ἄλλαις ἔσχατος.[2]

(*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 501-503 W.)

10. Ὅτι ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς Ἀννίβας ἡττηθεὶς ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ φοβούμενος μὴ διὰ τὴν ἧτταν ἀπὸ[3] τῆς γερουσίας τύχῃ τιμωρίας τεχνάζεταί τι τοιοῦτον. ἀπέστειλέ τινα τῶν φίλων εἰς Καρχηδόνα δοὺς ἐντολὰς ἅς ποτε ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν. ὁ δὲ καταπλεύσας εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν εἰσαχθεὶς εἶπεν ὅτι προσέταξεν Ἀννίβας ἐρωτῆσαι τὴν βουλὴν εἰ κελεύει ναυμαχῆσαι διακοσίαις ναυσὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι. τῶν δὲ ἀναβοησάντων καὶ κελευσάντων, Τοιγαροῦν, ἔφη, νεναυμάχηκε καὶ ἡττήμεθα. ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὑμῶν προσταξάντων ἀπολέλυται τῆς αἰτίας. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀννίβας εἰδὼς τοὺς πολίτας ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων συκοφαντοῦντας τοὺς στρατηγούς,[4] τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ τὰς ἐσομένας κατηγορίας ὑπεξείλατο.

2 Διαβεβλημένοι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πρότερον κινδύνοις ὡς ἂν τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων αἴτιοι γεγονότες ἔσπευδον διὰ ταύτης τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀνακτήσασθαι τὰς περὶ τούτων διαβολάς.

11. Οὐδὲν δ' οὕτω καταπλήττεται τὰς ψυχὰς τὸ ἡττηθῆναι ὡς τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις.[5] δυνάμενοι γὰρ

[1] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman (with Ἑ-): Ἐρκησσος H.
[2] Wurm suggests ἔτι δὲ πόλις Ἁλικυαίων καὶ ἄλλαι τῶν ἐσχάτων.
[3] ὑπὸ Dindorf. [4] So Dindorf: στρατιώτας V.
[5] Herwerden suggests οὐδὲν δ' οὕτω καταπλήττει τὰς ψυχὰς ⟨ὡς⟩ τὸ ἡττηθῆναι· [ὡς] ⟨ὅπερ ἦν ἰδεῖν ἐν⟩ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις. Boissevain suggests οὐδενὶ (or οὐδεσὶ) for οὐδὲν. Dindorf (in part after Mai) prints οὐδὲν . . . ψυχὰς ὡς τὸ ἡττηθῆναι τοὺς Καρχηδονιόυς.

By this time Herbessus, also, had been abandoned. Still the river Halycus . . . for others also . . . farthest.

10. Hannibal, the general of the Carthaginians, having been defeated in a naval battle,[1] and fearing that because of the defeat he might be punished by the senate, made use of the following artifice. He dispatched one of his friends to Carthage, and gave him such orders as seemed to him expedient. This man sailed home to the city, and when he had been brought before the senate said that Hannibal had ordered him to ask if it be the council's bidding that, with a fleet of two hundred ships, he should engage in battle the Roman fleet of one hundred and twenty ships. With shouts of approval they urged him to give battle. "Very well," he said, "that is just why Hannibal did fight—and we have been beaten. But since you commanded it, he is relieved of the blame." Hannibal, then, knowing that his fellow citizens were wont to persecute their generals after the event, thus forestalled the accusations that were in the offing. 260 B.C.

Since in the previous battles they had been accused of being responsible for the losses incurred, they were eager to retrieve their damaged reputation by means of this naval engagement.

11. No one is so shattered in spirit by defeat as are the Carthaginians.[2] They could, for example, 256 B.C.

[1] The famous battle of Mylae, Rome's first naval victory. The achievement of the consul Duilius is commemorated in the inscription of the Columna Rostrata in the Forum, *CIL*, 1^2 2. 25.
[2] The text is uncertain. The Carthaginians had been badly defeated off Cape Ecnomus on the southern coast of Sicily in the summer of 256 B.C.

ῥᾳδίως διαφθεῖραι τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τὸν κατάπλουν οὐδὲ ἐπεχείρησαν τούτους ἀμύνασθαι. τριάκοντα γὰρ ναυσὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσφερομένων τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ μήτε τάξεως μήτε συστήματος ἁδροῦ γενομένου τοῦ τε πνεύματος βιαιότερον ἐγκειμένου, χωρὶς κινδύνου παρῆν αἱρεῖν αὔτανδρα τὰ σκάφη. εἰ μὲν οὖν καταβάντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐξ ἴσου παρετάξαντο καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς δυνάμεως ἐνεργῶς ἐχρήσαντο, ῥᾳδίως ἂν περιεγένοντο τῶν πολεμίων· νῦν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν μόνον ἀποβλέψαντες τὴν[1] ἐρυμνότητα τοῦ λόφου, καὶ τῶν χρησίμων τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν εὐλάβειαν προέμενοι τὰ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν[2] διαγνοήσαντες,[3] τοῖς ὅλοις ἔπταισαν.

12. Ὅτι ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ὄντων τῶν Καρχηδονίων τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἡ γερουσία τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τὸν Ἀτίλιον περὶ εἰρήνης. τούτων δὲ Ἄννων ὁ Ἀμίλκου[4] πρῶτος ὢν τῇ δόξῃ, διαλεχθεὶς τοὺς ἁρμόζοντας λόγους τῷ καιρῷ, παρεκάλει τὸν ὕπατον μετρίως αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀξίως. ὁ δὲ Ἀτίλιος μεμετεωρισμένος τοῖς εὐημερήμασιν καὶ τύχης[5] ἀνθρωπίνης οὐδεμίαν ἔννοιαν λαμβάνων τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα προσέταττεν ὥστε τὴν συντεθειμένην

[1] τὴν added by Dindorf.
[2] So Dindorf: ἀπορίαν V.
[3] ἀγνοήσαντες Herwerden, Dindorf[4].
[4] So Mai: αμίλκας V.

easily have destroyed the naval force of the enemy as they were putting in to land, but did not even attempt to repel them. For while the Romans, with thirty ships,[1] were approaching the shore and were neither in battle array nor in compact formation because of the violence of the wind, it would have been possible without any danger to capture the vessels, men and all. And certainly if they had gone down into the plain,[2] and had engaged in battle on even terms and put into action every part of their army, they would easily have prevailed over the enemy. Instead, since they were intent on one thing only, the security afforded by the hill, and since they let slip some of their advantages through excessive caution and failed to recognize others because of their inexperience, they suffered a crushing defeat.

12. Since the Carthaginians were in a state of great despondency, the senate sent three of their most eminent citizens as ambassadors to Atilius, to discuss terms of peace. Of these, Hanno, the son of Hamilcar, was the man held in highest esteem, and after he had said what was appropriate to the occasion, he urged the consul to treat them with moderation and in a manner worthy of Rome. Atilius, however, since he was elated by his success and took no account of the vicissitudes of human fortune, dictated terms of such scope and nature that the peace framed

[1] The number is suspect. The reference is to the Roman invasion of Africa under M. Atilius Regulus, consul suffectus in 256 B.C.; cp. Polybius, 1. 29.
[2] In the battle at Adys (Polybius, 1. 30); because of their chosen position the Carthaginians were unable to make use of their elephants and cavalry.

[5] So Mai: ψυχῆς V.

εἰρήνην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲν διαφέρειν δουλείας. ἐφ' οἷς ὁρῶν τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς[1] ἀγανακτοῦντας ἔφησεν αὐτοὺς δεῖν τοὐναντίον χάριν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τούτοις· μὴ δυναμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν μήτε κατὰ γῆν μήτε κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντιτάξασθαι, πᾶν τὸ συγχωρούμενον ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαμβάνειν ἐν δωρεᾷ. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄννωνα παρρησιαζομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ὑπερηφάνως ἀπειλήσας προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην, ἐπιφθεγξάμενος ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἢ νικᾶν ἢ εἴκειν τοῖς ὑπερέχουσιν.[2] ὁ μὲν οὖν ὕπατος οὔτε τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἔθος ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις μιμησάμενος οὔτε τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσιν εὐλαβηθεὶς συντόμως τῆς ὑπερηφανίας ἀξίᾳ περιέπεσε τιμωρίᾳ.
(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 348-349.)

13. Πάντες μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωποι κατὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας[3] μᾶλλον εἰώθασι τοῦ δαιμονίου[4] μνημονεύειν, καὶ πολλάκις ἐν[5] ταῖς εὐημερίαις καὶ[6] εὐπραξίαις ὡς μύθων πεπλασμένων τῶν θεῶν[7] καταφρονοῦντες κατὰ τὰς ἐλαττώσεις ἀνατρέχουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν φυσικὴν εὐλάβειαν. μάλιστα δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπηρτημένων φόβων ἀναζητοῦντες τὰς ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν χρόνων παραλελειμμένας θυσίας ἐπολυπλασίαζον τὰς εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμάς.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 350; to εὐλάβειαν, *Exc. Hoesch.* p. 504 W.)

14. Ὅτι ὁ Ξάνθιππος[8] ὁ Σπαρτιάτης συνεβούλευε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς προάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ ταῦτα ἔφησεν αὐτοῖς[9] λέγειν οὐχ ἵνα

[1] τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς or αὐτοὺς Dindorf: τοὺς V.
[2] ὅτι δεῖ . . . ὑπερέχουσιν] H (p. 503 W.) has these words (=chap. 12. 2 Dind.).
[3] Ὅτι κατὰ τὰς ἀτυχίας πάντες ἄνθρωποι H.
[4] θεοῦ H.
[5] ἐν δὲ H.
[6] εὐημερίαις καὶ omitted in V.
[7] τῷ θεῷ H.
[8] So Dindorf: Ξανθίππης V.
[9] So Post: αὐτὸν V, αὐτὸν Dindorf.

by him was no better than slavery.[1] Seeing the ambassadors were displeased at these terms, he said that on the contrary they should be grateful, for this reason, that inasmuch as they were unable to offer resistance either on land or sea in defence of their freedom, they should accept as a gift whatever concessions he might make. But when Hanno and his companions continued to voice their opinions frankly to him, he threatened them insolently and ordered them to depart as quickly as possible, remarking that brave men ought either to conquer or to submit to those whose power is greater. Now in so acting the consul both failed to observe the custom of his country and to guard against divine retribution, and in a short time he met with the punishment that his arrogance deserved.

13. Now all men are more apt to be mindful of divinity in times of misfortune, and though often, in the midst of victories and success, they scorn the gods as myths and fabrications, yet in defeat they quickly revert to their natural piety. So, in particular, the Carthaginians, because of the greatness of the fears that now hung over them, sought out the sacrifices that had been omitted for many years, and multiplied the honours paid to the gods.

14. Xanthippus,[2] the Spartan, kept advising the generals to advance against the enemy. He did this, he said, not so that by urging and spurring them on 255 B.C.

[1] Dio Cassius, 11. 43. 22-23, purports to give the terms set by Regulus. Cp. also Polybius, 1. 31.
[2] A Greek mercenary, recently enlisted in the service of Carthage; cp. Polybius, 1. 32-34.

ἐκείνους παροξύνας καὶ παρακαλέσας αὐτὸς ἐκτὸς ᾖ τῶν κινδύνων, ἀλλ' ὅπως εἰδῶσιν[1] ὅτι πέπεισται ταῦτα ποιούντων αὐτῶν ῥᾳδίως προτερήσειν, αὐτός τε καθηγήσεσθαι[2] τῆς μάχης καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀνδραγαθήσειν.

2 Ὅτι Ξανθίππου κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου παριππεύοντος καὶ τοὺς πεφευγότας πεζοὺς ἀναστρέφοντος, εἰπόντος δέ τινος ὅτι ῥᾳδίως ἐφ' ἵππου καθήμενος τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον παρακαλεῖ, παραχρῆμα καθαλόμενος[3] τὸν μὲν ἵππον τῶν παίδων τινὶ παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πεζῇ παριὼν ἐδεῖτο μὴ γενέσθαι τῆς ἥττης καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας αἰτίους ἅπαντος[4] τοῦ στρατοπέδου.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 350.)

Chap. 14. 3-4 Dind. = Chap. 15. 10-12, below.

15. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας οἰκεῖον ὑπολαμβάνομεν εἶναι τὸ μὴ παραλιπεῖν ἀνεπισημάντους τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων προαιρέσεις ἐπ' ἀμφότερα. τῇ μὲν[5] γὰρ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων κατηγορίᾳ διορθοῦσθαι συμβαίνει τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν καταφερομένους ἄγνοιαν, τῇ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν[6] ἐπιτηδευμάτων εὐφημίᾳ προτρέπεσθαι πολλῶν τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς ἀρετήν. τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν δικαίως μέμψαιτο τὴν ἀφροσύνην καὶ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν τὴν Ἀτιλίου;[7] τὴν γὰρ[8] εὐτυχίαν ὥσπερ βαρὺ φορτίον ἐνεγκεῖν ἐπι-

[1] So Dindorf²: εἴδωσιν V, ἴδωσιν Dindorf⁴.
[2] So Mai: καθηγήσασθαι V.
[3] So Dindorf: καθαλλόμενος V.
[4] So Mai: ἅπαντας V.
[5] τῇ μὲν] This sentence appears also in H (= chap. 15. 6a Dind.) in the following corrupt form: ὅτι ῥᾷον ἐστί τινα (Hoeschel, Rhodoman add ὑπὲρ τοὺς) ἐχθροὺς γενέσθαι, ἐὰν μόνον ἀγαθῷ συμβούλῳ χρήσοιτο, πειθόμενος τὴν μὲν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων

he might himself remain out of danger, but that they might know that he was confident of their ready victory if they would do so. As for himself, he added, he would lead the attack and would display his valour at the foremost point of danger.

During the battle Xanthippus, the Spartan, rode up and down, turning back any foot-soldiers who had taken flight. But when someone remarked that it was easy for one on horseback to urge others into danger, he at once jumped down from his horse, handed it over to a servant, and going about on foot, begged his men not to bring defeat and destruction upon the whole army.[1]

15. We consider it to be a proper part of history not to pass over without comment the policy, whether good or bad, of men in positions of leadership.[2] For by the denunciation of their errors others who are drifting into a like mistake may be set straight, while by the praise of noble behaviour the minds of many are prompted to right action. Could anyone, in all justice, fail to censure the folly and arrogance of Atilius? By his inability to bear adroitly the

[1] Thanks to Xanthippus the Romans were routed and Regulus was taken captive.
[2] With this whole passage cp. Polybius, 1. 35. The following sentence appears in H preceded by the words: "It is easy to get the better of one's enemies, if only one employs a good adviser."

κατηγορίαν διορθοῦσθαι. καὶ συμβαίνει τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν καταφερομένους ἄγαν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εὐφημίαν κτλ. The opening words (ὅτι . . . πειθόμενος) seem to be the work of the excerptor.
[6] ἀγαθῶν omitted in P.
[7] So Bekker: Ἀντιλίου P, Ἀττιλίου Valesius.
[8] τὴν γὰρ . . . συμπτώμασι] This sentence appears also in H (= chap. 15. 6b Dind.).

δεξίως οὐ δυνηθεὶς ἑαυτὸν μὲν[1] ἀπεστέρησε τῆς μεγίστης δόξης, τὴν δὲ πατρίδα μεγάλοις περιέβαλε
2 συμπτώμασι.[2] δυνάμενος γὰρ θέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην συμφέρουσαν μὲν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ταπεινὴν δὲ καὶ παντελῶς αἰσχρὰν τῇ Καρχηδόνι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀπενέγκασθαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἰώνιον μνήμην ἡμερότητος καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, τούτων μὲν οὐδ' ὁντινοῦν ἐποιήσατο λόγον, τοῖς δὲ τῶν ἠτυχηκότων πταίσμασιν ὑπερηφάνως προσενεχθείς, τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα προσέταττεν ὥστε[3] τὸ μὲν δαιμόνιον νεμεσῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ ἡττημένους διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐκείνου βαρύτητος ἐπαναγκάσαι τραπέσθαι
3 πρὸς ἀλκήν. τοιγαροῦν εὐθὺς τηλικαύτη τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγένετο παλίρροια δι' ἐκεῖνον ὥστε τοὺς μὲν Καρχηδονίους τοὺς διὰ τὴν ἧτταν καὶ τὴν κατάπληξιν ἀπεγνωκότας τὸ πρότερον τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἐκ μεταβολῆς τότε θαρσήσαντας κατακόψαι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν, τὸ δὲ σύνολον τηλικαύτῃ πληγῇ καὶ συμφορᾷ περιπεσεῖν τὴν Ῥώμην ὥστε τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεζομαχεῖν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων δοκοῦντας πρωτεύειν μηκέτι τολμᾶν ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου

[1] μὲν omitted in P. [2] συμπτώμασι H, κακοῖς P.
[3] So Valesius: ἅτε P.

heavy burden, as it were, of success, he robbed himself of the highest renown and involved his country in serious disasters. Though he could have made peace on terms advantageous to Rome, as well as humiliating and utterly shameful to Carthage, and could in addition have won for himself among all mankind enduring remembrance for clemency and humanity, he took no account of these things, but dealt so arrogantly with the defeated in their misfortunes and dictated terms so harsh that the gods were roused to just anger and the defeated enemy were driven by his excessive severity to turn and resist. In consequence there now occurred, thanks to him, so great a turn of the tide that the Carthaginians, who in consternation at their defeat had previously despaired of safety, now veered round and in an access of courage cut to pieces the army of their enemies, while Rome was altogether dealt so disastrous a blow that those who were reputed to be foremost in all the world in infantry warfare no longer ventured to engage the foe in battle at the first

4 συγκαταβαίνειν εἰς παράταξιν. διὸ καὶ συνέβη τὸν πόλεμον μακρότατον μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν μνημονευομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀγῶνας μεταπεσεῖν εἰς ναυμαχίας, ἐν αἷς τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων διεφθάρησαν ναῦς παμπληθεῖς, ἄνδρες[1] δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν δέκα μυριάδων σὺν τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ναυαγίαις ἀπολομένοις[2]· χρημάτων δὲ ἐδαπανήθη τοσοῦτος ἀριθμὸς ὅσον εἰκός ἐστιν ἀναλῶσαι τοὺς στόλους μὲν πληροῦντας[3] ἐκ τοσούτων[4] νηῶν συνεστηκότας, διαπολεμήσαντας δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων ἔτη πεντεκαίδεκα. οὐ μὴν ὅ γε τούτων αἴτιος ἐλαχί-

---

15. 7. Τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐν Λιβύῃ διαβάντων μεγάλῃ δυνάμει σὺν Ἀττιλίῳ ὑπάτῳ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκησαν, καὶ πόλεις καὶ φρούρια εἷλον πολλὰ καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν κατέκοψαν. ὕστερον δὲ Ξανθίππου Σπαρτιάτου στρατηγοῦ μισθοφόρου ἐλθόντος ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος, ἐνίκησαν κατὰ κράτος Καρχηδόνιοι Ῥωμαίους καὶ κατέκοψαν μεγάλην δύναμιν. ἔκτοτε ναυμαχίαι ἐγένοντο[5] καὶ πολλῶν σκαφῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀπώλεια Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένοντο, ὡς εἶναι τὸν τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀριθμὸν δέκα μυριάδας. (*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 504 W.[6])

στην μερίδα τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπηνέγκατο. τῆς γὰρ[7] προϋπαρχούσης αὐτῷ[8] δόξης πολλαπλασίαν[9] τὴν ἀτιμίαν καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἠλλάξατο, τοῖς δὲ ἰδίοις

[1] So Salmasius, Valesius: ἀνδρος (*s. acc.*) P.
[2] ναυαγίαις ἀπολομένοις Dindorf: ναυμαχίαις ἀπολυμμένοις P.
[3] So Dindorf: πλέοντας P.
[4] So Wesseling: τῶν P; τʹ (*i.e.* τριακοσίων) Reiske.
[5] Hoeschel brackets ἐγένοντο.
[6] This passage is preceded and followed in H by sentences

opportunity. In consequence the war turned out to be the longest on record, and the conflict resolved itself into a series of naval battles, in which the Romans and their allies lost a multitude of ships and no fewer than one hundred thousand men, including those who perished by shipwreck; as for the amount of money expended, it was as great as one might expect in view of the cost of manning a navy consisting of so many ships and of carrying on the war for fifteen years after this time. But indeed the man who was the cause of all this gained as his reward no

---

15. 7. After[1] the Romans crossed over to Libya with a large army commanded by the consul Atilius, they were at first victorious over the Carthaginians, and captured many cities and forts and cut to pieces a large army. Later, however, after a Spartan general, Xanthippus, a mercenary soldier, had come from Greece, the Carthaginians defeated the Romans by main force and cut to pieces a large army. Thereafter there were naval battles and the Romans lost many ships and men, so that the number of those who perished was one hundred thousand.

---

small portion of the disaster. In exchange for the esteem he already enjoyed he received dishonour and disgrace many times as great, and by his personal mis-

[1] See critical note to text.

taken directly from the text preserved in P. Its closest point of contact is with chap. 15. 4, but it is clearly a summary account written by the compiler of the Hoeschel fragments.
[7] τῆς γὰρ . . . ἔλεον] This sentence appears also in H (=chap. 15. 8 Dind.). For τῆς γὰρ H has ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς.
[8] αὐτοῦ H.
[9] πολλαπλασίας H.

συμπτώμασι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδαξε[1] μέτρια φρονεῖν[2] ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὧν ὑπερηφάνησε τὴν ἀτυχίαν, τούτων ἠναγκάσθη τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν φέρειν, προαφῃρημένος ἑαυτοῦ[3] τὴν συγγνώμην καὶ τὸν συγκεχωρημένον[4] τοῖς ἐπταικόσιν
5 ἔλεον. Ξάνθιππος δὲ τῇ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀρετῇ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους οὐ μόνον ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν δεινῶν ἐξήρπασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα πόλεμον εἰς τοὐναντίον περιέστησε. τοὺς μὲν[5] γὰρ ἅπασι κρατοῦντας τοῖς ὅλοις[6] ἠλάττωσε, τοὺς δὲ[7] διὰ τῆς ἥττης προσδοκῶντας[8] τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ προτερήματος ἐποίησε καταφρονῆσαι τῶν πολεμίων. διὸ καὶ τῆς τῶν πραχθέντων ἐπιφανείας εἰς ἅπασαν σχεδὸν τὴν οἰκουμένην διαδοθείσης, ἕκαστος[9] ἐθαύμαζε τὴν τἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν εἰκότως· παράδοξον γὰρ ἐφαίνετο πᾶσιν εἰ προσγενομένου τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἑνὸς μόνου ἀνδρός, τηλικαύτη τῶν ὅλων ἐγένετο μεταβολὴ ὥστε τοὺς μὲν εἰς πολιορκίαν ἄρτι συγκεκλεισμένους ἐκ μεταβολῆς τοὺς ἐναντίους[10] πολιορκεῖν, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γῆς καὶ θαλάττης δι' ἀνδρείαν κρατοῦντας ἐν πόλει μικρᾷ συμπεφευγότας προσδέχεσθαι τὴν ἅλωσιν. οὐδὲν[11] δὲ θαυμαστὸν εἰ στρατηγοῦ σύνεσις καὶ πραγμάτων ἐμπειρία τῶν ἀδυνάτων δοκούντων εἶναι περιεγένετο.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 258-259.)

10 Οὐδὲν γὰρ θαυμαστὸν εἰ στρατηγοῦ σύνεσις καὶ πραγμάτων ἐμπειρία τῶν ἀδυνάτων δοκούντων

[1] So H: τοῖς ἰδίοις συμπτώμασιν τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐδίδαξεν P.
[2] μετριοφρονεῖν H.
[3] ἑαυτοῦ H, δὲ αὐτοῦ P.

fortunes he taught other men to observe moderation in the exercise of power; worst of all, since he had already deprived himself of the possibility of forgiveness and of the pity that is accorded to the fallen, he was forced to endure the insolence and arrogance of those whose ill-fortune he had treated with such disdain. Xanthippus, on the other hand, by his personal excellence not only rescued the Carthaginians from their desperate situation but reversed the course of the whole war. For he utterly humbled those whose might was altogether superior, while by the magnitude of his success he enabled those who by reason of their defeat were expecting destruction to look with scorn upon their enemies. As a result, when the fame of these achievements was spread abroad throughout almost all the world, all men marvelled, not without reason, at his ability; for it seemed incredible that by the addition of a single man to the Carthaginians so great a change in the whole situation had resulted that those who just now had been shut in and besieged should turn about and lay siege to their opponents, and that those whose bravery had given them the upper hand on land and sea should have taken refuge in a small city and be awaiting capture. Yet it is not at all surprising that the native intelligence and the practical experience of a general overcame seemingly

[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman, Salmasius: συγκεχωρημένων P, συγκεχωρισμένων H.
[5] τοὺς μὲν . . . πολεμίων] This sentence appears also in H (=chap. 15. 9 Dind.). H has τοὺς γὰρ πᾶσι.
[6] ὅλοις P, πᾶσιν H.
[7] δὲ omitted in P.
[8] προσδοκοῦντας H.
[9] γὰρ after ἕκαστος deleted by Toup.
[10] So Salmasius, Valesius: ἐναντίως P.
[11] The text of P here overlaps that of H; see following section (chap. 15. 10).

περιεγένοντο. πάντα γὰρ τῇ συνέσει βάσιμα[1] καὶ δυνατὰ γίνεται[2] τῆς τέχνης ἐν πᾶσι χειρουμένης τὴν βίαν.

11 Καθάπερ γὰρ[3] τὸ σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστι δοῦλον, οὕτως αἱ μεγάλαι δυνάμεις τῇ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὑπείκουσι φρονήσει.

12 Τοῦ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον βουλευτηρίου[4] πάντα[5] κατισχύοντος . . .

(*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 504 W.; from πάντα γὰρ to end, *Const. Exc.* 4, p. 350 = Chap. 14. 3-4 Dind.)

16. Ῥηγούλῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ δὲ Μάρκῳ τῷ στρατηλάτῃ
κατασχεθέντι Σικελοῖς μάθε τὸ τέλος οἷον.
τὰ βλέφαρα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μαχαίρᾳ συντεμόντες
ἠνεῳγμένους εἴασαν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκείνου.
μικρᾷ δὲ τοῦτον εἵρξαντες καλύβῃ στενωτάτῃ,
ἄγριον ἐξοιστρήσαντες ἐλέφαντα θηρίον,
ἐκίνουν τοῦτον καθ' αὐτοῦ συγκατασπᾶν καὶ ξέειν.
οὕτω ποινηλατούμενος ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ μέγας
τὸν βίον ἐξαπέπνευσεν ἠθλιωμένῳ τέλει.
τοῖς Σικελοῖς καὶ Ξάνθιππος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης θνήσκει.
περὶ γὰρ τὸ Λιλύβαιον τῶν Σικελῶν τὴν πόλιν
Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Σικελοῖς πόλεμος ἐκροτεῖτο,
πρὸς εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρας τοὺς χρόνους ἐξαρκέσας.

insuperable difficulties. For intelligence makes all things accessible and possible, and in all matters skill overcomes brute force.

Just as the body is the servant of the soul, so great armies respond to the intelligent control of their leaders.

With an eye to what was expedient the senate, prevailing over all difficulties . . .

16. Learn the fate that befell Marcus Regulus, the Roman general, after his capture by the Sicels.[1] They cut off his eyelids with a knife and left his eyes open. Then, having penned him in a very small and narrow hut, they goaded to madness a wild elephant, and incited it to draw him down under itself and mangle him. Thus the great general, as though driven by an avenging fury, breathed his last and died a most wretched death. Xanthippus the Spartan also died at the hands of the Sicels. For round about Lilybaeum, a city of the Sicels, there was the clash of war between Romans and Sicels, war that had continued for twenty-four years. The Sicels, having

[1] Tzetzes refers to the Carthaginians throughout this passage as Sicels.

---

[1] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: βάδημα H, βάδιμα V.
[2] γίνεται V, ἄγειν H.
[3] καθάπερ γὰρ H, καὶ καθάπερ V.
[4] τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον Dindorf.
[5] παντὸς H.

οἱ Σικελοὶ ταῖς μάχαις δὲ πολλάκις ἡττημένοι
Ῥωμαίοις ἐνεχείριζον τὴν πόλιν εἰς δουλείαν.
τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων μηδαμῶς μηδ᾿ οὕτω πειθομένων,
ἀλλὰ γυμνοὺς τοὺς Σικελοὺς λεγόντων ἐξιέναι,
ὁ Σπαρτιάτης Ξάνθιππος ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Σπάρτης
σὺν στρατιώταις ἑκατόν, ἢ μόνος καθ᾿ ἑτέρους,
κατ᾿ ἄλλους δὲ πεντήκοντα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἔχων,
καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς Σικελοῖς, οὖσιν ἐγκεκλεισμένοις,
δι᾿ ἑρμηνέως τε αὐτοῖς πολλὰ συνομιλήσας,
τέλος θαρρύνει κατ᾿ ἐχθρῶν· καὶ συναράξας μάχῃ
ἅπαν Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα σὺν τούτοις κατακόπτει.
τοῖς εὐηργετημένοις δὲ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν λαμβάνει
ἀξίαν καὶ κατάλληλον τῆς τούτων δυστροπίας.
πλοίῳ σαθρῷ τὸν ἄνδρα γὰρ οἱ μιαροὶ βαλόντες
ὑπὸ στροφαῖς βυθίζουσι πελάγει τοῦ Ἀδρίου
βασκήναντες τὸν ἥρωα καὶ τούτου τὸ γενναῖον.
τῆς ἱστορίας μέμνηται τῆσδε καὶ τῆς Ῥηγούλου
ὁ Σικελὸς Διόδωρος.

(Tzetzes, *Hist.* 3. 356-386.)

suffered defeat in battle many times, offered to put their city in subjection to the Romans. The Romans, however, would not listen even to this offer but ordered the Sicels to go forth empty-handed. Xanthippus the Spartan, who had come from Sparta with a hundred soldiers (or alone, or with fifty soldiers, according to various authorities), approached the Sicels while they were yet hemmed in, and after conversing with them at length through an interpreter finally gave them courage to oppose their enemies. He clashed in battle with the Romans and with the aid of the Sicels cut to pieces their whole army. Yet for his good service he received a recompense worthy of and appropriate to that perverse people, since the foul wretches set him in a leaking ship and sank him beneath the swirling waters of the Adriatic, in their envy of the hero and of his nobility.[1] Diodorus the Sicel records this story and that of Regulus.

[1] Polybius, 1. 36. 2-4, says that after his great success Xanthippus prudently returned to Sparta, but he also hints at another version of the story.

17. Φίλιστος[1] δὲ ἱστορικὸς ἦν.

18. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι[2] εἰς τὴν Λιβύην διαπεράσαντες καὶ τὸν πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων νεῶν[3] ποιήσαντες, καὶ νικήσαντες καὶ ναῦς εἴκοσι τέσσαρας παραλαβόντες Καρχηδονίας, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πεζικοῦ πολέμου διασωθέντας Ῥωμαίους ἀναλαβόντες καὶ πρὸς Σικελίαν διαπερῶντες ἐγγὺς τῆς[4] Καμαρίνας ἐκινδύνευσαν, καὶ ἀπώλεσαν μακρὰς[5] ναῦς τριακοσίας τεσσαράκοντα, ἱππαγωγοὺς δὲ καὶ[6] πλοῖα ἕτερα τριακόσια· ἀπὸ δὲ Καμαρίνης ἕως Παχύνου τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ ἄλογα καὶ τὰ ναυάγια ἔκειντο. τοὺς δὲ διασωθέντας Ἱέρων φιλανθρώπως παραλαβών, ἐσθῆτι καὶ τροφῇ καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ χρείᾳ
2 ἀναπαύσας ἕως Μεσσήνης διέσωσε. Καρθάλων μὲν ὁ Καρχηδόνιος μετὰ τὴν ναυαγίαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πολιορκήσας Ἀκράγαντα ταύτην εἷλε, καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐνέπρησε, τὰ δὲ τείχη καθεῖλεν. οἱ
3 δὲ καταλειφθέντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὸ Ὀλύμπιον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἕτερον στόλον μετὰ τὸ ναυάγιον ναυπηγήσαντες, καὶ διακοσίαις πεντήκοντα ναυσὶν εἰς τὸ Κεφαλοίδιον[7] ἐλθόντες, τοῦτο διὰ προδοσίαν παρέλαβον. ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ Δρέπανα ἐλθόντες καὶ πολιορκήσαντες,[8] τοῦ Καρθάλωνος βοηθοῦντος, ἐξέπεσον καὶ
4 ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Πάνορμον. καθορμισθέντες ἐν τῷ λιμένι πλησίον τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκβιβά-

[1] Φιλῖνος Wesseling, Jacoby.
[2] οἱ after Ῥωμαῖοι deleted by Dindorf.
[3] νέων (*sic* H) deleted by Reiske, Dindorf.
[4] ἐγγὺς τῆς Dindorf: ἐξ αὐτῆς H.
[5] So Wesseling: μικρὰς H.

17. Philistus [1] was an historian.

18. The Romans [2] crossed over to Libya and engaged the Carthaginian fleet in battle; having been victorious and having captured twenty-four Carthaginian vessels, they took on board the Roman survivors of the battle on land, but while sailing across to Sicily ran into danger near Camarina and lost three hundred and forty warships, as well as cavalry transports and other vessels to the number of three hundred; bodies of men and beasts and pieces of wreckage lay strewn from Camarina as far as Pachynus. Hiero received the survivors hospitably, and having refreshed them with clothing, food, and other essentials, brought them safely to Messana. After the shipwreck of the Romans, Carthalo the Carthaginian laid siege to Acragas, captured and burned the city, and tore down its walls. The surviving inhabitants took refuge in the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus.[3] The Romans constructed another fleet after the shipwreck, and proceeding to Cephaloedium with two hundred and fifty ships got possession of that place by treason. They went on to Drepana and put it under siege, but when Carthalo came to its aid they were driven off and went to Panormus. There they moored their ships in the harbour close to the walls, and after disembarking

255 B.C. (margin, at "The Romans crossed over to Libya")
254 B.C. (margin, at "After the shipwreck of the Romans")

[1] Philistus of Syracuse (d. 356 B.C.) wrote a history of Sicily (Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 556). Some editors emend to read Philinus, on whom see chap. 8.
[2] The narrative of chapters 18-21 differs in a number of details from the parallel account in Polybius, 1. 36-40.
[3] On this temple see Book 13. 82.

[6] καὶ added by Hoeschel, Rhodoman.
[7] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: Κεφαλύδην H.
[8] ἐκπολιορκήσαντες Dindorf[4].

σαντες,[1] ἐχαράκουν καὶ ἐτάφρευον τὴν πόλιν· κατα-δένδρου γὰρ τῆς χώρας μέχρι τῶν πυλῶν οὔσης, ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν τὰ χώματα ἐχαρακώθησαν καὶ ἐταφρεύθησαν. εἶτα Ῥωμαῖοι συνεχεῖς προσβολὰς ποιούμενοι ταῖς μηχαναῖς[2] κατέβαλον τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τῆς ἐκτὸς πόλεως κυριεύσαντες πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλον· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν πόλιν, καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς
5 ὑπάτους ἠξίουν τοῖς σώμασι ἀσφάλειαν. τῶν δὲ συμφωνούντων[3] δύο μνᾶς τῷ σώματι διδόντας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, παρέλαβον τὴν πόλιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ μύρια τετρακισχίλια σώματα τιμῆς συνεχωρήθη τῷ εὑρεθέντι ἀργυρίῳ καὶ ἀπελύθη. τοὺς δὲ λοιπούς, μυρίους τρισχιλίους ὄντας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀποσκευὴν ἐλαφυροπώλησαν. Ἰαιτῖνοι[4] δὲ ἐκβαλόντες[5] τὴν τῶν Φοινίκων φρουρὰν τὴν πόλιν Ῥωμαίοις ἔδωκαν. παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις ἐποίησαν Σολουντῖνοι καὶ Πετρῖνοι καὶ Ἠνατταρῖνοι καὶ Τυνδαρῖται.[6] οἱ δὲ ὕπατοι φρουρὰν ἐν Πανόρμῳ λιπόντες ἀπῆλθον εἰς Μεσσήνην.[7]

19. Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιγενομένου ἔτους πλεύσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δεύτερον εἰς Λιβύην, καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων μὴ ἐασάντων αὐτοὺς ὁρμῆσαι, ὑποστρέφοντες ἦλθον εἰς Πάνορμον. ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάραντες εἰς Ῥώμην[8] δεύτερον ἐναυάγησαν χειμῶνος αὐτοὺς καταλαβόντος, καὶ ἀπώλεσαν ναῦς μακρὰς ἑκατὸν

[1] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἐμβιβάσαντες H.
[2] ταῖς μηχαναῖς Rhodoman: καὶ μηχανὰς H.
[3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: συμφώνων H.

their men, invested the city with a palisade and a trench; for since the countryside is heavily wooded right up to the city gates, the earthworks and trenches were made to extend from sea to sea. Thereupon the Romans by making constant assaults and by employing engines of war broke down the city wall, and having gained possession of the outer city slew many; the rest fled for refuge to the old city, and sending envoys to the consuls asked for assurances that their lives would be spared. An agreement was made that those who paid two minas apiece should go free, and the Romans then took over the city; at this price fourteen thousand persons were brought under the agreement upon payment of the money, and were released. All the others, to the number of thirteen thousand, as well as the household goods, were sold by the Romans as booty. The inhabitants of Iaetia expelled their Punic garrison and handed over the city to the Romans. The people of Solus, Petra, Enattaros,[1] and Tyndaris acted in like fashion. The consuls, having stationed a garrison in Panormus, then withdrew to Messana.

19. In the following year the Romans again sailed 253 B.C.
to Libya, but being prevented by the Carthaginians from mooring their ships they turned about and went to Panormus. Having set sail thence for Rome they were overtaken by a storm and again suffered shipwreck, and lost one hundred and fifty warships

[1] This place is unknown, and the name may be corrupt.

[4] So Dindorf: Ἰετῖνοι H.
[5] So ed. Rhod.: ἐκβάλλοντες H.
[6] So Rhodoman: Τυνδαρίδαι H.
[7] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman (ἐς Μεσσήνην): ἐν Μεσήνῃ H.
[8] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman (ἐς): ἐν Ῥώμῃ H.

πεντήκοντα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἅπασαν τῶν ἱππαγωγῶν καὶ λαφύρων. . .[1] τοῦ δὲ Θερμῶν πυλωροῦ περὶ τὰ ἔξω γενομένου εἰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας,[2] ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ συνελήφθη· καὶ ἐπρέσβευσε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα, ὅτι ἐὰν ἀπολύσῃ αὐτὸν ἀνοίξειν αὐτῷ τὴν πύλην τῆς πόλεως νυκτός. τοῦ δὲ ἀπολύσαντος, καὶ συνθεμένου καιρόν, ἀπέστειλεν ὁ ἄρχων χιλίους νυκτός. καὶ φθάσαντες, ὁ μὲν κατὰ[3] τὴν ὡρισμένην ἤνοιξε πύλην· τὴν δὲ οἱ πρώτιστοι καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς[4] εἰσῆλθον, καὶ εἶπον τῷ πυλωρῷ κλεῖσαι καὶ μηδένα ἄλλον ἐᾶσαι[5] εἰσελθεῖν, θέλοντες μόνως[6] τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς πόλεως ἆραι. οὗτοι πάντες κατεκόπησαν, ἄξιον τῆς πλεονεξίας θάνατον ὑπομείναντες.

20. Ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ καιρῷ τὰς Θέρμας καὶ τὴν Λιπάραν Ῥωμαῖοι παρέλαβον ἄμφω. πολιορκήσαντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἑρκτὴν φρούριον μυριάσι[7] τέσσαρσι καὶ χιλίοις ἱππεῦσιν ἑλεῖν[8] οὐκ ἴσχυσαν.

21. Ἀσδρούβας[9] δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων βλασφημούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων διὰ τὸ μὴ πολεμεῖν, ἀναζεύξας μετὰ πάσης δυνάμεως διὰ τῆς Σελινουντίας δυσχωρίας ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ Πάνορμον. καὶ διαβιβάσας τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν σύνεγγυς, περὶ τὰ τείχη ἐστρατοπέδευσε, μήτε χαράκωμα μήτε τάφρον τάξας διὰ τὸ καταφρονεῖν. πάλιν δὲ καὶ τῶν

[1] Hoeschel, Rhodoman suggest adding παρασκευήν. Dindorf suggests also μετὰ after ἅπασαν.

[2] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: χεῖρας H.

[3] Hoeschel, Rhodoman suggest οἳ καὶ φθάσαντες ἧκον. ὁ μὲν οὖν κατὰ. Wurm suggests placing φθάσαντες below, after ἐπιφανεῖς.

[4] Herwerden suggests ἐπιφανέντες for καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς.

[5] ἄλλον ἐᾶσαι Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἄγγελον ἐᾶσαι καὶ H.

[6] Hoeschel, Rhodoman suggest μόνοι.

[7] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman (adding πεζῶν): μυριάς H.

[8] ἑλεῖν added by Hoeschel, Rhodoman.

[9] So ed. Rhod.: Ανδρούβας H.

and all their transports and booty besides. . . . The keeper of the gate at Thermae, having gone without the walls for the needs of nature, was captured by the Roman army; he sent word to the commander that if he would release him he would open the city gate for him during the night. The commander released him and having fixed a time sent a thousand men at night. They arrived and he opened the gate at the appointed time. The leaders, men of note, entered and ordered the gate-keeper to bolt the gate and to allow no one else to enter, since they wished to carry off the wealth of the city themselves. All of these men were cut down and suffered the death that their greed deserved.

20. On another occasion the Romans got possession of both Thermae and Lipara. Though the Romans also laid siege, with forty thousand men and a thousand cavalry, to the fortress of Herctê, they did not prevail against it. 252/1 B.C.

21. Hasdrubal, the general of the Carthaginians, being berated by his own people for not fighting, marched with his whole army through the rough country about Selinus and arrived in Panormus. And when he had brought his men across the river, which lies near by, he encamped near the city walls, but ordered neither palisade nor trench because he thought it did not matter. On this occasion again 251/0 B.C.

ἐμπόρων πολὺν οἶνον ἐπιφερομένων, οἱ Κέλται μεθυσθέντες καὶ κραυγῆς καὶ ἀταξίας πληρούμενοι, ἐπιπεσόντος[1] Καικιλίου τοῦ ὑπάτου αὐτοῖς κατὰ κράτος, αὐτοὺς νικήσας καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἑξήκοντα κρατήσας, εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε. καὶ θαῦμα Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον. (*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 505-506 W.)

22. Ὅτι Ἀμίλκας ὁ Βάρκας καλούμενος ὁ Καρχηδόνιος καὶ Ἀννίβας ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ μέγιστοι στρατηγοὶ Καρχηδονίων οὐ μόνον ὄντες[2] τῶν προτέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων ὁμολογουμένως οὗτοι διελήφθησαν, καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις πράξεσιν ηὔξησαν μάλιστα τὴν πατρίδα.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 259-260.)

[1] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ὑποπεσόντος H.
[2] ὄντες, οὐ μόνον Valesius.

the merchants brought in a great quantity of wine; the Celts became drunk, and were in complete disorder and shouting noisily when the consul Caecilius[1] attacked them in force. He won a victory over them and captured sixty elephants, which he sent to Rome. And the Romans were struck with wonder.

22. Hamilcar the Carthaginian, surnamed Barca, and Hannibal his son were by common consent considered the greatest generals of the Carthaginians, greater not only than their predecessors but than those of later ages as well, and by their personal achievements they very greatly increased the power of their native land.[2]

[1] L. Caecilius Metellus, consul in 251 B.C. As proconsul the next year he celebrated a triumph *de Poenis*.
[2] Chap. 22 is anticipatory and, as noted by Dindorf, may well belong to Book 24. It is perhaps from the preface to that book, and in any case must stand before Book 24. 3.

1. Τὴν δὲ Σελινουντίων πόλιν Καρχηδόνιοι κατασκάψαντες μετῴκισαν εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ναυσὶ μακραῖς διακοσίαις τεσσαράκοντα καὶ κερκούροις ἑξήκοντα καὶ πλοίων πλήθει παντοδαπῶν κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Πάνορμον, ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον, ὃ[1] πολιορκεῖν ἤρξαντο. τὴν μὲν γῆν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν τάφρῳ ἀπετείχισαν, καταπέλτας δὲ καὶ κριοὺς καὶ χωστρίδας καὶ χελώνας κατεσκεύασαν. τὸ δὲ στόμιον τοῦ λιμένος, πεντεκαίδεκα κερκούρους[2] ναῦς λίθων πληρώσαντες, κατέχωσαν. ἦν δὲ ὁ λαὸς ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἕνδεκα μυριάδες, τῶν δὲ πολιορκουμένων πεζοὶ ἑπτακισ-
2 χίλιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑπτακόσιοι. πολιορκουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν, ἦλθεν αὐτοῖς βοήθεια ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος, ἄνδρες τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ σῖτος, καὶ ἀνεθάρσησαν οἱ[3] μετὰ τοῦ Ἀτάρβου. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι θεασάμενοι τὴν εἰσβολὴν τῆς δυνάμεως, λίθοις[4] καὶ χώμασιν ἐκ δευτέρου τὸ στόμιον τοῦ λιμένος ἔχωσαν καὶ

[1] So Rhodoman: τὴν (or τὸν?) H, ἣν in margin (accepted by Dindorf).
[2] So Rhodoman: κερκουρὰς H.
[3] οἱ added by Walton. Wesseling, Bekker, Dindorf place μετὰ τοῦ Ἀτάρβου after σῖτος, above.
[4] So Wesseling: λίθαις H.

1. The Carthaginians, having razed to the ground the city of Selinus, removed its population to Lilybaeum. The Romans, with a fleet of two hundred and forty warships, sixty light vessels, and a large number of transports of all types, sailed into Panormus and thence to Lilybaeum, which they put under siege.[1] On land they blockaded the city from sea to sea by means of a trench, and constructed catapults, battering rams, covered sheds, and penthouses. The entrance of the harbour they blocked with fifteen light vessels, which they had loaded with stones. The Roman host numbered one hundred and ten thousand, while the besieged had seven thousand infantry and seven hundred cavalry. In the course of the siege relief arrived from Carthage, four thousand men and supplies of food, and Adherbal and his men took heart again.[2] The Romans, who had observed the force effecting an entrance, again blocked the mouth of the harbour with stones and jetties, and barred 250 B.C.

[1] The story of the siege is told in detail by Polybius, 1. 41-48.
[2] According to Polybius (1. 44), the relief expedition comprised 10,000 men and was headed by Hannibal; Adherbal was commander-in-chief, and was then at Drepana (1. 46). Wesseling, following Zonaras, 8. 15 (who names Ἀρδέβας as commander of the relief expedition), transposes to read: "relief arrived from Carthage—Adherbal with . . . men and supplies—and their confidence was restored."

ξύλοις μεγίστοις καὶ ἀγκύραις τὰ βάθη ἐσταύρωσαν. πνεύματος δὲ βιαίου πνεύσαντος καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀγριανθείσης, πάντα κατέλυσεν. ἐποίησαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πετροβόλον[1] ὄργανον, ἔκτισαν δὲ ἔνδοθεν ἄλλο τεῖχος Καρχηδόνιοι. τὴν δὲ τάφρον τῆς πόλεως ἔχωσαν Ῥωμαῖοι, ἔχουσαν τὸ πλάτος ἑξήκοντα πήχεις καὶ τὸ βάθος τεσσαράκοντα. πόλεμον δὲ συνάψαντες εἰς τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν τεῖχος ἔστησαν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐνέδρας.[2] καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ εἰς τὸν πρὸς θάλασσαν πόλεμον κενωθέντος, οἱ κατὰ[3] τὰς ἐνέδρας κλίμακας ἑτοίμους ἔχοντες
3 ἀνέβησαν, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον τεῖχος εἷλον. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Καρχηδόνιος στρατηγός, ἐπιπεσὼν αὐτοῖς ἐν ἑνὶ τόπῳ ἐφόνευσε μυρίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἠνάγκασε φεύγειν. πάντα δὲ πολεμικὰ ὄργανα, χελώνας, πετροβόλους, κριούς, χωστρίδας, πνεύματος μεγάλου ἐπιπνεύσαντος, ἐνέπρησαν Ῥωμαίων. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦντας τοὺς ἱππεῖς αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς τόποις, ἐξαπέστειλαν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ Δρέπανα, καὶ πολλὴ βοήθεια Καρχη-
4 δονίοις ἐγένετο. ἐξαπορηθέντες δὲ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὴν καῦσιν τῶν ὀργάνων καὶ διὰ τὴν σπανίαν τῶν τροφῶν καὶ τὴν λοιμικὴν νόσον, κρεωβοροῦντες[4] γὰρ μόνον Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι εἰς τὴν νόσον ἔπιπτον, ὡς ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις μυρίους τεθνάναι. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἠθέλησαν καταλῦσαι· Ἱέρων δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Συρακούσης σῖτον πολὺν ἀποστείλας αὐτοῖς ἀνεθάρσυνεν[5] αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν πάλιν.

5 Τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὸν ὕπατον διαδεξαμένων, τὴν

[1] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: πετράολον H.
[2] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἕδρας H.

the channels with huge timbers and anchors[1]; but when a strong wind arose, the sea grew turbulent and broke everything up. The Romans constructed an engine for hurling stones, but the Carthaginians built another wall on the inner side. The Romans then filled the moat, which was sixty cubits wide and forty deep. Joining battle at the seaward wall they placed men in ambush in front of the city, and when the defending forces had been drawn off into the battle on the seaward side the men who were lying in ambush with ladders ready climbed up and captured the first wall. When the Carthaginian general got news of this, he fell upon them, killed large numbers in a single place, and forced the others to flee. And with the aid of a strong gale they set fire to all the Roman engines of war, their penthouses, stone-throwers, battering rams, and covered sheds. Perceiving, however, that their cavalry was of no service to them in the confined space, the Carthaginians dispatched them to Drepana; there they greatly assisted the Carthaginians. The Romans were rendered helpless by the burning of their engines, as well as by short rations and pestilence, for since they and their allies fed solely on flesh they were so infected that large numbers died in a few days. For this reason they were even ready to abandon the siege, but Hiero, the king of Syracuse, dispatched an abundant supply of grain, and gave them fresh courage to resume the siege.

On the accession to office of the new consuls, the 249 B.C.

[1] Presumably floating timbers anchored.

[3] κατὰ added by Hoeschel, Rhodoman.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: κρεωβροτοῦντες H.
[5] So Rhodoman: ἀνεθάρσησεν H.

ἀρχὴν παρέδωκαν Κλαυδίῳ ὑπάτῳ τῷ τοῦ Ἀππίου
υἱῷ. καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰς δυνάμεις πάλιν τὸν
λιμένα ἔχωσεν, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν
ἡ θάλασσα κατεσκόρπισε. τοῦ δὲ Κλαυδίου μέγα
ἐπαρθέντος, τὰς ἀρίστας ναῦς ἐξήρτυσε[1] διακοσίας
δέκα, καὶ εἰς τὰ Δρέπανα πρὸς Καρχηδονίους
ἀπῆλθε πολεμήσων αὐτούς. καὶ ἡττήθη ἀπολέσας
ναῦς ἑκατὸν ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἄνδρας δισμυρίους.
ναυμαχίαν δὲ καρτερὰν[2] καὶ νίκην λαμπροτέραν οὐχ
ὅτι[3] Καρχηδονίοις ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄλλοις τοιαύτην
γεγενημένην ῥᾳδίως ἂν εὕροις[4] περὶ τούτους τοὺς
χρόνους, καί, τὸ παράδοξον, ἐν τηλικούτῳ κινδύνῳ
ὄντας Καρχηδονίους καὶ μετὰ νεῶν δέκα . . . οὐ
μόνον ἀνῃρέθη μὲν οὐδείς, ἐτραυματίσθησαν δὲ
6 ὀλίγοι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀπέστειλαν Ἀννίβαν[5]
τριηράρχην εἰς Πάνορμον μετὰ τριάκοντα νεῶν,
καὶ[6] τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοῦ σίτου ἔφερον
εἰς Δρέπανα. καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀγορᾶς τὴν χρείαν
ἐκ τῆς Δρεπάνης λαβόντες, εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον ἦλθον,
καὶ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους ἐνέπλησαν παντοίων ἀγα-
7 θῶν. ἔφθασε δὲ καὶ Καρθάλων στρατηγὸς ἐκ
Καρχηδόνος μετὰ νεῶν μακρῶν ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ
σιτηγῶν ἴσων. ἐπιθεμένων δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν Ῥωμαίοις,

[1] So Wesseling: ἐξήρτησε H.
[2] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: κρατεὰν H.
[3] οὐχ ὅτι Herwerden: οὐχὶ H.
[4] ἂν εὕροις added by Hoeschel, Rhodoman.
[5] ἀπέστειλαν Ἀννίβαν Dindorf (cp. Polybius, 1. 44. 1): ἀπέστειλεν Ἀννίβας H.
[6] Hoeschel, Rhodoman suggest αἳ (adopted by Dindorf).

---

[1] P. Claudius Pulcher. The other consul of 249 B.C. was L. Iunius Pullus.

Romans gave the command to the consul Claudius, son of Appius.[1] Upon assuming command of the army he again blocked the harbour, as his predecessors had done, and again the sea hurled all to bits. Claudius, however, in high self-confidence, equipped the best ships, two hundred and ten in number, and set off to Drepana to do battle with the Carthaginians. He was defeated with the loss of one hundred and seventeen ships and twenty thousand men. It would not be easy to discover a fierce fight at sea followed by a more glorious victory in this period—no comparable victory, I mean, for anyone, not merely for the Carthaginians. The surprising thing, however, is that though the Carthaginians were involved in so great a battle and . . . with ten[2] ships . . . not only was no one killed but even the wounded were few. After this they sent Hannibal the trierarch to Panormus with thirty ships, and plundered and carried off to Drepana the stores of grain belonging to the Romans. Then, taking from Drepana whatever other provisions were of use, they went to Lilybaeum, and provided the besieged population with an abundance of good things of all sorts. Carthalo the general also arrived from Carthage with seventy warships and a like number of provision transports. When they also[3] had set upon the Romans, he succeeded

[2] The number is probably wrong, and the grammar of the clause is at least unusual; very likely the original narrative has suffered from careless condensation. Polybius' account of the battle (1. 49-51) does not suggest any such disparity in the size of the two fleets, and the number may belong to a clause referring to the Roman fleet of 210 ships.

[3] This may be a garbled reference to the simultaneous land attack led by Himilco (Polybius, 1. 53. 5) while Carthalo was attacking the ships.

τινὰς μὲν ναῦς ἐβύθισε, τῶν δὲ[1] νεῶν τῶν ὁρμουσῶν εἰς γῆν ἀπέσπασε πέντε. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸν στόλον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκ Συρακουσῶν ἀφωρμηκέναι, πείσας τοὺς συνάρχοντας ἀνήχθη ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ταῖς ἀρίσταις. τῶν δὲ στόλων εἰς σύνοψιν ἐλθόντων κατὰ τὴν Γελῴαν χώραν, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι φοβηθέντες κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Φιντιάδα, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα τὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν κομίζοντα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ναῦς ἀπέλιπον ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν· τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων καταπλευσάντων συνέστη καρτερὸς ἀγών. τέλος δὲ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῶν σκαφῶν τῶν μεγάλων κατέδυσαν πεντήκοντα, τῶν δὲ μακρῶν ἐβύθισαν ἑπτακαίδεκα, συντρίψαν-
8 τες δὲ τρισκαίδεκα ἀχρήστους ἐποίησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἅλυκον ποταμὸν παραγενόμενοι τοὺς τραυματίας ἀνέπαυσαν. ὁ δὲ ὕπατος Ἰούνιος οὐδὲν τῶν γεγενημένων εἰδὼς ἐκ τῆς Μεσσήνης ἀνήχθη ναυσὶ μακραῖς τριάκοντα ἕξ, φορτηγοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγοις. περιπλεύσας δὲ τὸν Πάχυνον καὶ καθορμισθεὶς πλησίον Φιντιάδος κατεπλάγη
9 τὸ γεγενημένον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Καρχηδονίων παντὶ στόλῳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντων, φοβηθεὶς ὁ ὕπατος τὰς μὲν τρισκαίδεκα τὰς ἀχρήστους ἐνέπρησεν, ἐπὶ δὲ Συρακόσας τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιεῖτο, νομίζων Ἱέρωνα παρέξεσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. κατάληπτος δὲ γενόμενος πρὸς τὴν γῆν τῆς Καμαρίνας, εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέφυγε πρὸς τόπους τραχεῖς καὶ ὑφαλώδεις. τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος βιαιότερον ἐπιπνέοντος, οἱ μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι κάμψαντες τὸν Πάχυνον εἰς ὑπεύδιον τόπον καθωρμίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι κινδύνου μεγάλου γεγενημένου τὰ μὲν σιτηγὰ πλοῖα ἀπώλεσαν πάντα, τὰς δὲ μακρὰς ναῦς οὔσας ἑκατὸν πέντε

[1] δὲ added by Wesseling.

in sinking some ships and in dragging to the shore five of those lying at anchor. Then, hearing that the Roman fleet had set sail from Syracuse, he prevailed upon his fellow commanders and put to sea with one hundred and twenty ships, the best of the fleet. When the two fleets sighted one another off the coast of Gela the Romans took fright and put in at Phintias, where they left under shelter of land the ships laden with provisions and the remainder of their fleet; when the Carthaginians bore down, there was a sharp struggle. Finally the Carthaginians disabled fifty of the large freighters, sent to the bottom seventeen men-of-war, and stove in and rendered useless thirteen others. Afterwards, the Carthaginians, on reaching the Halycus River, gave their wounded men a period of rest. The consul, Iunius, knowing nothing of these events, put to sea from Messana with thirty-six warships and a considerable number of transports. But having rounded Cape Pachynus and anchored near Phintias, he was astounded to learn what had taken place. Later, when the Carthaginians advanced against them with their entire fleet, the consul, seized with fear, burned the thirteen ships that were useless, and attempted to sail back to Syracuse, thinking that Hiero would provide them safety. But being overtaken off the coast of Camarina he put in to land for refuge, at a place where the shores were rocky and the water shallow. When the wind increased in violence, the Carthaginians rounded Cape Pachynus and anchored in a relatively calm spot, whereas the Romans, placed in great peril, lost all their provision ships and likewise their warships, so

ὁμοίως, ὥστε¹ δύο μόνας σωθῆναι, τὰ δὲ πλείω
10 σώματα ἀπολωλέναι. ὁ δὲ Ἰούνιος τὰς δύο ναῦς ἀπολαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦλθε τὸ Λιλύβαιον. νυκτὸς δὲ οὗτος ἐπιπεσὼν τὸν Ἔρυκα παρέλαβε· καὶ τὸν Αἰγίθαλλον ἐτείχισεν, ὅνπερ νῦν Ἄκελλον καλοῦσι, καὶ στρατι-
11 ώτας ὀκτακοσίους εἰς φυλακὴν κατέλιπε. Καρθάλων δὲ πυθόμενος τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἔρυκα τόπους προκατειλῆφθαι, νυκτὸς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ παρεκόμισε δύναμιν· ἐπιπεσὼν δὲ τοῖς φρουροῖς τοῦ Αἰγιθάλλου ἐκυρίευσε τοῦ χωρίου, καὶ περιγενόμενος οὓς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, οὓς δὲ ἐφυγάδευσεν εἰς τὸν Ἔρυκα· καὶ τὸ μὲν φρούριον τρισχίλιοι στρατιῶται ἐφύλαξαν. ἐν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ ναυμαχίᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔπεσον τρισμύριοι καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι, τῶν δὲ ἑαλωκότων οὐκ ἔλαττον τούτων.

(*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 506-508 W.)

2. Ὅτι τοὺς φιλαργυρωτάτους ἐπελέξαντο πρὸς τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν τῶν μηχανημάτων καὶ τοὺς θρασυτάτους οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, τριακοσίους ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμόν· τὰ γὰρ πάθη² ταῦτα μάλιστα προτρέπεται τοὺς προχείρους παντὸς καταφρονεῖν κινδύνου. ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς προσβολαῖς καὶ τειχομαχίαις συνέβαινε τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀποθνήσκειν ἑκουσίως προπίπτοντας εἰς κινδύνους δυσβοηθήτους.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 350-351.)

3. Ὅτι Κλώδιος παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν παρέλαβε τὰς πρὸς τῷ Λιλυβαίῳ δυνάμεις, καὶ τὰ πλήθη συναγαγὼν κατηγόρησε πικρῶς τῶν παραδόντων αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπάτων, φάσκων

¹ So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: δὲ H.
² So Wurm: πλήθη V.

that of one hundred and five of the latter only two were saved and most of the men perished. Iunius, with the two warships and the surviving men, made his way to the army encamped at Lilybaeum,¹ whence he made a sally by night and gained Eryx; he also fortified Aegithallus (now called Acellum) and left eight hundred men there as a garrison. But when Carthalo learned that Eryx and its environs had already been occupied, he brought over an army by sea at night, and by an attack on the garrison of Aegithallus got possession of that stronghold. In his success he slew some and forced others to seek refuge at Eryx. Three thousand men guarded the fortress.² In the first naval battle ³ thirty-five thousand Romans were lost, and the number of men taken captive was no less.

2. The Carthaginians selected the men who were 250 B.C.
keenest to get money and most daring (some three hundred in all) for the attempt to burn the siege engines,⁴ since it is these qualities that provide the strongest motive to make men scorn all danger. In general it was the bravest who were killed in making assaults and in the storming of walls, since of their own accord they went headlong into perils that offered scant hope of succour.

3. When Claudius arrived in Sicily ⁵ he took com- 249 B.C.
mand of the forces at Lilybaeum, and calling an assembly bitterly assailed the consuls who had just handed over the army to him, charging that they

¹ See Polybius, 1. 53-54, for a slightly different account of these two naval disasters, and, for the capture of Eryx, 1. 55.
² Presumably this refers to the Roman garrison on Eryx.
³ It is not clear just which battle is meant.
⁴ Cp. chap. 1. 3, and for the offer of rewards Polybius, 45. 3.
⁵ Cp. chap. 1. 5.

αὐτοὺς ῥᾳθύμως κεχειρικέναι[1] τὸν πόλεμον, μεθυσκομένους καὶ ζῶντας ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ τρυφῇ, καὶ τὸ σύνολον πεπολιορκῆσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ πεπολιορκηκέναι. ὢν δὲ φύσει παράθερμος καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ παρακεκινηκὼς πολλὰ διῴκει μανίᾳ προσεμφερῶς. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὧν τῆς στρατηγίας κατηγόρησε, τούτων τὴν ἄνοιαν μιμησάμενος παραπλησίως ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τά τε χώματα καὶ τὰ κλεῖθρα κατεσκεύαζε, τοσοῦτον ἀφροσύνῃ διενέγκας ἐκείνων,[2] ὅσῳ μεῖζόν ἐστιν ἁμάρτημα τὸ μηδὲ[3] ἐκ τῆς πείρας δύνασθαι μεταδιδαχθῆναι[4] τοῦ πρώτως ἐπιβαλλόμενον σφαλῆναι. τιμωρητικὸς δὲ ὢν φύσει τοὺς μὲν πολιτικοὺς[5] τοῖς πατρίοις ἔθεσιν[6] ἐκόλαζεν ἀπαραιτήτως, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ῥάβδοις ἐμαστίγου. καθόλου δὲ διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκίας δόξαν διεφθαρμένος ὑπεροπτικὸς ἦν καὶ κατεφρόνει πάντων.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 260 ; in part, Suidas, *s.v.* παράθερμος.)

4. Περικατάληπτος γενόμενος κατέφυγε πρὸς τὴν γῆν, ἐν ἐλάττονι θέμενος τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ναυαγίας φόβον τοῦ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων κινδύνου.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 351.)

5. Ὅτι Ἀμίλκας καὶ πρὸ τῆς στρατηγίας φανερὰν ἔσχε τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφὼς ἄξιος ἐφαίνετο τῆς πατρίδος, ἀντεχόμενος μὲν τῆς δόξης, καταφρονῶν δὲ τῶν κινδύνων.

2 Ὅτι οὗτος συνέσει διαφέρειν ἐδόκει καὶ τόλμαν

had been remiss in their handling of the war, drunkards who lived lives of licence and luxury, and that on the whole they had been the victims of a siege rather than the besiegers. Since he was naturally hot-blooded and mentally unstable, his conduct of affairs often verged on the lunatic. In the first place, he repeated the mistake of those whose leadership he had denounced, for he likewise reconstructed the jetties and barriers in the sea ; his witlessness, however, outdid theirs in so far as the error of not being able to learn from experience is greater than that of being the first to try and fail. He was also a born martinet, and applied the traditional punishments [1] unmercifully to soldiers who were Roman citizens and flogged the allies with rods. In general, the distinction of his clan and the reputation of his family had so spoiled him that he was supercilious and looked down on everyone.

4. Finding himself overtaken he [2] fled for refuge to the shore, for he regarded the terrors of shipwreck more lightly than the risk of battle.

5. Even before he became general, Hamilcar's 247 B.C.
nobility of spirit was apparent, and when he succeeded to the command he showed himself worthy of his country by his zeal for glory and scorn of danger.

He was reputed to be a man of exceptional intelli-

[1] See Polybius, 6. 37-38, for the severity of these punishments.

[2] Iunius : cp. chap. 1. 9.

---

[1] So Valesius : κεχρηκέναι P.

[2] διενεγκὼν τῶν ἄλλων Suidas.

[3] τῷ μηδ' Suidas, who omits ὅσῳ . . . ἁμάρτημα.

[4] διδαχθῆναι Suidas.

[5] So Valesius : πολικοὺς P.

[6] So Valesius : ἔθνεσιν P.

καὶ πρᾶξιν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔχων ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας τοὺς πολίτας ὑπῆρχεν

ἀμφότερον, βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 260.)

6. Εἰς δὲ τὸν Λόγγωνα Κατάνης φρούριον ὑπῆρχε, καλούμενον Ἰτάλιον. ὅπερ πολεμήσας Βάρκας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος . . . (*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 508 W.)

7. Οὐδενὶ δηλώσας τὸ βεβουλευμένον· ὑπελάμβανε γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν στρατηγημάτων διαδιδόμενα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις γνώριμα γίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων ἢ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐμποιεῖν δειλίαν προσδοκῶσι μέγεθος κινδύνου. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 351.)

2 Τὰ γὰρ τῶν στρατηγῶν βουλεύματα καὶ στρατηγήματα διαδιδόμενα τοῖς φίλοις[1] τοῖς πολεμίοις γνώριμα γίνεται διὰ τῶν αὐτομόλων, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις δειλίαν ἐντίκτοντα[2] προσδοκίαν μεγάλου κινδύνου ἐντίθησι.

8. Βάρκας δὲ νυκτὸς καταπλεύσας καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀποβιβάσας, αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἡγησάμενος τῆς ἀναβάσεως τῆς πρὸς Ἔρυκα οὔσης σταδίων τριάκοντα, παρέλαβε τὴν πόλιν καὶ πάντας . . .[3] ἀνεῖλε. μετῴκισε δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς τὰ Δρέπανα.

[1] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: φιλοῦσι H.
[2] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἐντίκτονται H.
[3] Herwerden suggests πολλοὺς for πάντας, but probably some words are lost.

gence, and since he surpassed all his fellow citizens both in daring and in ability at arms, he was indeed

Both a goodly prince and a brave warrior.[1]

6. Near Longon[2] there was a fort, called Italium, belonging to Catana. Barca the Carthaginian, having attacked this . . .

7. He revealed to no one what had been planned; for he was of the opinion that when such stratagems are imparted to one's friends they either become known to the enemy through deserters or produce cowardice among the soldiers by their anticipation of great danger.

For the plans and stratagems of generals, when imparted to one's friends, become known to the enemy through deserters, and engendering cowardice in the soldiers fill them with anticipations of great danger.[3]

8. Barca, after sailing in at night and disembarking 244 B.C.
his army, took the lead in person on the ascent to Eryx, a distance of thirty stades. He captured the city[4] and slew all the . . . The survivors he removed to Drepana.

[1] Homer, *Iliad*, 3. 179. Hamilcar Barca, the father of Hannibal, was appointed general in 247 (246 Beloch) B.C. Cp. Polybius, 1. 56.
[2] Stephanus of Byzantium records the name of a Sicilian city Longonê. The place is otherwise unknown.
[3] Here again the excerptor of the Hoeschel fragments has carelessly distorted the sense (see the Constantinian fragment, above). Perhaps, despite the word order, he intended to construe δειλίαν with ἐντίθησι. The idea is expressed more fully in Dio Cassius, 12. 43. 25.
[4] The city of Eryx was part way up the mountain; the Romans had and retained garrisons both at the summit and at the foot of Mt. Eryx (Polybius, 1. 58. 2). The preceding fragment of Diodorus probably refers to this bold stroke.

9. Ἐν παντὶ γὰρ καιρῷ καὶ πράγματι συμβαίνει τὴν εὐταξίαν γίνεσθαι μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν.
(*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 509 W.)

Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀμίλκου διαταξαμένου μὴ διαρπάζειν τοὺς στρατιώτας, Οὐοδόστωρ οὐκ ἐπείσθη καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν. οὕτως ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ συμβαίνει τὴν εὐταξίαν γίνεσθαι μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν πεζοὶ προγεγενημένης εὐημερίας τηλικαύτης οὐχ ὅτι[1] ταύτην ἀνέτρεψαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες ἐκινδύνευσαν ἀπολέσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς οὐ πλείους διακοσίων[2] ὄντες οὐ μόνον ἑαυτοὺς διέσωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρεσκεύασαν.

2 Ὅτι Ἀμίλκας ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἔρυκα περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως. ὁ δὲ ὕπατος Φονδάνιος ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἥκουσι μὴ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀλλὰ τοὺς ζῶντας, εἰ νοῦν ἔχουσιν, ὑποσπόνδους αἰτεῖσθαι. ὑπερηφάνου μὲν οὖν γενομένης τῆς ἀποκρίσεως, οὗτος οὐ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἐλαττώμασι περιέπεσεν εὐθύς, ὥστε πολλοῖς δόξαι τὴν μεγαλαυχίαν τετευχέναι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου νεμέσεως.

3 Ὅτι τοῦ Φονδανίου περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ταφῆς ἀποστείλαντος κήρυκας, Βάρκας πολὺ κεχωρισμένην τῆς προγεγενημένης ἀπόφασιν ἐποιήσατο. φήσας γὰρ μάχεσθαι μὲν τοῖς ζῶσι, διαλελύσθαι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας συνεχώρησε τὴν ταφήν.
(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 351.)

10. Ὅτι ὁ Ἄννων μεγαλεπίβολος ὢν καὶ δόξης

[1] μόνον after ὅτι deleted by Post.
[2] So Mai: διακοσίους V.

[1] Probably the same as the Bodostor of chap. 12.
[2] C. Fundanius Fundulus.

9. On every occasion and in every undertaking good discipline turns out to be productive of good results.

Although Hamilcar had given orders that the soldiers should not engage in plunder, Vodostor[1] was disobedient and as a result lost many of his men. So true is it that on every occasion good discipline turns out to be productive of good results that now, though the foot-soldiers, let alone ruining the great success that had already been achieved, even risked complete destruction, the cavalry, though not more than two hundred in number, not only came through safe themselves but provided safety for the others as well.

Hamilcar sent to Eryx to arrange for taking up the dead for burial. The consul Fundanius[2] bade the messengers, if they were sensible men, request a truce to recover, not the dead, but the living. After giving this arrogant reply, the consul straightway suffered serious losses, so that it appeared to many that his boastfulness had met with due retribution from the gods. 243 B.C.

When Fundanius sent heralds to arrange for the burial of the dead, Barca's reply was very different from that given on the earlier occasion. For stating that he was at war with the living, but had come to terms with the dead, he granted permission for their burial.

10. Hanno,[3] being a man of great enterprise and (?)

[3] The Hanno of this chapter, who rose to fame in the Mercenary War (Book 25. 2-6; Polybius, 1. 65 ff.), is to be distinguished from the Hanno of chap. 11. Hecatompylus is in Libya (Book 4. 18. 1), and the incident related here is referred to by Polybius (1. 73. 1), but the exact date is uncertain (not before 247 B.C., to judge by the position of the fragment in the Constantinian collection).

ὀρεγόμενος, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἔχων δύναμιν σχολάζουσαν ἅμα μὲν ταύτην γυμνάσειν ἤλπιζεν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ, τρέφων ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας καὶ τὴν πόλιν κουφίζων τῶν δαπανημάτων, ἅμα δὲ πολλὰ καταπράξεσθαι[1] *τῇ πατρίδι καὶ πρὸς δόξαν καὶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.*

2 *Ὅτι Ἄννωνος τὴν Ἑκατόμπυλον ἐκπολιορκήσαντος, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων προσελθόντων μεθ' ἱκετηριῶν καὶ δεομένων ἀνθρωπίνως ἑαυτοῖς χρήσασθαι, φιλόδοξος ὢν ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ προκρίνας τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τῆς τιμωρίας τρισχιλίους μὲν ὁμήρους ἔλαβε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἀκεραίους ἐάσας ἔτυχε στεφάνων καὶ τιμῶν μεγάλων παρὰ τῶν εὖ παθόντων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, τῶν ἐγχωρίων αὐτοὺς ὑποδεχομένων λαμπρῶς μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας, εἱστιῶντο πάντων ὄντων*[2] *δαψιλῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν.*

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 260-261.)

11. *Λυτάτιος*[3] *δὲ ὁ ὕπατος ναυσὶ μακραῖς τριακοσίαις καὶ πλοίοις καὶ πορείοις*[4] *ἑπτακοσίοις, ὁμοῦ χιλίοις, εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσε, καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἐρυκίνων*[5] *ἐμπόριον καθωρμίσθη. Ἄννων δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ Καρχηδόνος ναυσὶ διακοσίαις πεντήκοντα μακραῖς καὶ τοῖς*[6] *φορτηγοῖς εἰς τὴν νῆσον τὴν Ἱερὰν ἦλθεν. εἶτα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἔρυκα ἐρχόμενος, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπαντησάντων, παρ' ἀμφοτέρων*

[1] So Herwerden: *καταπράξασθαι* P.
[2] Valesius suggests *τῶν* for *ὄντων*. Dindorf[4] has *ὄντων δαψιλῶν τῶν*.
[3] So Wesseling: *Λιγάτινος* H.
[4] So Dindorf: *πορίοις* H.
[5] So Wesseling: *Ἐρικύνων* H.

eager to win renown, and, above all, having at his disposal an idle army, hoped by means of this expedition to train the army while providing its maintenance from the enemy's country, thus relieving the city of its expense, and at the same time to accomplish many things that would redound to the glory and advantage of the fatherland.

When Hanno had forced Hecatompylus to capitulate, the elders of the city approached him, bearing the olive-branches of supplication, and besought him to treat them humanely. Since the general was concerned to enjoy a good reputation, and preferred kindness to retribution, he took three thousand hostages but left the city and its estates untouched, and in consequence received crowns and other high honours from the grateful people. And his soldiers, whom the inhabitants entertained splendidly and with great cordiality, feasted on the abundance of all things provided for their enjoyment.

11. The consul Lutatius,[1] with three hundred 241 B.C.
warships and seven hundred transports and carriers, a thousand vessels in all, sailed to Sicily and cast anchor at the trading-station of the Erycinians. Likewise, Hanno himself, setting out from Carthage with two hundred and fifty warships, together with[2] cargo ships, came to the island of Hiera. As he proceeded thence towards Eryx the Romans came out to meet him, and a battle ensued, hotly contested on

[1] C. Lutatius Catulus, consul for 242 B.C. The decisive naval battle at the Aegates Islands (cp. Polybius, 1. 60-61) was fought in March 241 B.C.
[2] Or perhaps "and three hundred cargo ships." See critical note.

[6] Wurm and Herwerden suggest that the article has been substituted for the numeral *τ'*.

πόλεμος ἐγένετο μέγας. κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον ἀπέβαλον Καρχηδόνιοι ναῦς ἑκατὸν ἑπτακαίδεκα, αὐτάνδρους μὲν τούτων εἴκοσι (Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα, τριάκοντα μὲν εἰς τέλος, πεντήκοντα δὲ εἰς ἐπιμερισμόν) αἰχμαλώτους δέ, ὡς Φιλῖνος ἀνέγραψε, Καρχηδονίων ἑξακισχιλίους, ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι,[1] τετρακισχιλίους τεσσαράκοντα. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι νῆες πνεύματος ἐπιπνεύσαντος οὐρίου εἰς Καρχηδόνα ἔφυγον. (*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 509 W.)

3 Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον γὰρ προέβη τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας ὥστε καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὐτοὺς παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀριστεύειν καὶ τῶν κινδύνων προκαθηγεῖσθαι. ἔνθα δὴ συνέβαινεν ἀλογώτατα πάθη τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνίοτε. οἱ γὰρ ταῖς εὐψυχίαις[2] ὑπερέχοντες τῶν ἀνθεστηκότων καταδυομένης τῆς ἰδίας νηὸς ἡλίσκοντο, ταῖς μὲν ἀρεταῖς οὐκ ἐνδιδόντες, τῷ δὲ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀβοηθήτῳ κρατούμενοι. τί γὰρ[3] ὄφελος ἀνδρείας ὅταν τοῦ[4] σκάφους βυθισθέντος τὸ σῶμα τῆς βάσεως ἀποστερηθὲν[5] ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγχειρίζηται;[6]

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 352; last sentence, *Exc. Hoesch.* p. 509 W. = Chap. 11. 2 Dind.)

12. Ὅτι ἡ μήτηρ τῶν νεανίσκων βαρέως φέρουσα τὴν τἀνδρὸς τελευτὴν καὶ νομίσασα δι' ἀμέλειαν αὐτὸν ἐκλελοιπέναι τὸ ζῆν, ἐποίησε[7] τοὺς υἱοὺς κακουχεῖν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. συγκλεισθέντων οὖν αὐτῶν εἰς οἴκημα στενὸν παντελῶς, τὰ σώματα

[1] ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι] τῶν δὲ ἑτέρων de Sanctis.
[2] So Dindorf: εὐτυχίαις V. [3] οὐδὲν γὰρ H.
[4] ὅταν τοῦ] ὅτ' αὐτοῦ H.
[5] ἀποστερηθέντος H.
[6] ἐγχειρίζεται H.
[7] Valesius suggests ἔπεισε (so Vulgate).

both sides. In this battle the Carthaginians lost a hundred and seventeen ships, twenty of them with all men aboard (the Romans lost eighty ships, thirty of them completely, while fifty were partially destroyed), while the number of Carthaginians taken prisoner was, according to the account of Philinus,[1] six thousand, but according to certain others, four thousand and forty. The rest of the ships, aided by a favouring wind, fled to Carthage.

Such heights of bravery were reached that even the generals on both sides distinguished themselves by their personal exploits and led the way amid hazards. Here the most surprising accidents on occasion befell the bravest men. For when their ships were sunk, some who were far superior in courage to their opponents were captured, not because they fell short in deeds of valour, but because they were overpowered by the irresistible force of necessity. For what does bravery profit a man when his ship goes down, and his person, robbed of its footing, is delivered by the sea into the hands of the enemy?

12. The mother of the young men was bitter at the death of her husband,[2] and believing that he had died of neglect she made her sons maltreat the prisoners. They were accordingly cooped up in an extremely narrow room, where for lack of space they (?)

[1] See note on Book 23. 8. Polybius gives the figure as "nearly 10,000"; de Sanctis emends here to read: "6,000 Carthaginians, 4,040 others" (see critical note).

[2] Regulus. This fragment certainly belongs earlier, and by its position in the collection could be placed as early as 247 B.C. When Regulus himself died is uncertain. It may be noted that nothing in the extant portion of the book suggests that Diodorus included the familiar story of Regulus' embassy (cp. Horace, *Odes*, 3. 5).

καθάπερ τῶν θηρίων ἠναγκάζετο συνεσπειραμένα καρτερεῖν διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν. ἔπειτα τῆς τροφῆς παραιρεθείσης[1] ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε, Βοδόστωρ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ἔνδειαν ἐτελεύτησεν, Ἀμίλκας δὲ διαφέρων εὐψυχίᾳ διεκαρτέρει, καίπερ ἀπεγνωσμένης ἐλπίδος ἀντεχόμενος.[2] πολλάκις δὲ αὐτοῦ δεομένου τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μετὰ δακρύων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα διεξιόντος, τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχεν ἐκείνη φιλανθρωπίας καὶ λογισμῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ὥστε τὸν μὲν νεκρὸν αὐτῷ[3] συγκατακλεῖσαι πέντε ἡμέρας, τροφὴν δὲ ὀλίγην χορηγῆσαι, πρὸς αὐτὸ μόνον στοχαζομένην τὸ δύνασθαι τὴν ἀτυχίαν
2 ἐνεγκεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας ἀπογνοὺς τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱκεσίας ἔλεον ἀνεβόησεν ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος Δία Ξένιον καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐποπτεύοντας τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἀντὶ καλῆς χάριτος τῆς ὀφειλομένης ἀπολαμβάνει τιμωρίας ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον. οὐ μὴν ἐξέλειπε τὸ ζῆν, εἴτε δαιμονίου τινὸς ἐλεήσαντος, εἴτε καὶ ταὐτο-
3 μάτου παράδοξον ἐνεγκόντος βοήθειαν. ἐσχάτως γὰρ αὐτοῦ διακειμένου διά τε τὴν ἀποφορὰν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ τὴν ὅλην κακουχίαν, τῶν οἰκετῶν τινες τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν διηγήσαντό τισι τὸ γινόμενον. οἱ δὲ μισοπονηρήσαντες τοῖς δημάρχοις προσήγγειλαν. δεινῆς δ' οὖν τῆς ὠμότητος φανείσης, οἱ ἄρχοντες ἀνεκαλέσαντο τοὺς Ἀτιλίους καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον θανάτου κρίσιν προέθηκαν[4] ὡς καταισχύνουσι τὴν Ῥώμην· διηπειλήσαντο δὲ τὴν ἁρμόττουσαν παρ' αὐτῶν λήψεσθαι τιμωρίαν εἰ μὴ πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσονται τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. οἱ δὲ τῇ

[1] So Valesius: στροφῆς παραιθείσης P.
[2] So Dindorf: ἀνεχόμενος P. [3] So Valesius: αὐτοῖς P.
[4] So Dindorf: προσέθηκαν P.

were forced to make do by contorting their bodies like coiling serpents. Later, when they had been deprived of food for five days, Bodostor died of despair and privation. Hamilcar,[1] however, being a man of exceptional spirit, held out and clung still to hope, desperate though he was. But although he repeatedly pled with the woman and recounted with tears the care he had lavished upon her husband, she was so far removed from any feelings of kindliness or considerations of humanity that for five days she shut the corpse in with him, and though she allowed him a little food her sole aim was to enable him thereby to endure his wretched state. When finally he despaired of winning pity by supplications, he cried aloud and called upon Zeus Xenios[2] and the gods who watch over the affairs of men to witness that instead of a due return of kindness he was receiving punishment beyond human endurance. Yet he did not die, whether because some god took pity on him, or because chance brought him unexpected assistance. For when he was at the point of death as a result of the effluvia from the corpse and his general maltreatment, some of the household slaves recounted to certain persons what was going on. They were scandalized, and reported it to the tribunes. Since in any case the cruelty that had been revealed was shocking, the magistrates summoned the Atilii and very nearly brought them to trial on a capital charge, on the ground that they were bringing disgrace upon Rome; and they threatened to exact fitting punishment from them if they should not bestow all possible care upon the prisoners. The

[1] Which Hamilcar this was is uncertain.
[2] "Protector of strangers."

μητρὶ πολλὰ καταμεμψάμενοι, τὸν μὲν Βοδόστορα καύσαντες ἀπέστειλαν τὴν τέφραν τοῖς συγγενέσι, τὸν δὲ Ἀμίλκαν ἐκ τῆς κακουχίας ἀνέλαβον.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 261-262.)

13. Ὅτι ὁ Βάρκας, ἐπειδὴ παρεγενήθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πρέσβεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ τοῦ Γέσκωνος καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ἀνεγίνωσκον, μέχρι μέν τινος ἐσιώπα· ὡς δὲ ἤκουσε τά τε ὅπλα παραδιδόναι καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους, οὐκ ἐκαρτέρησεν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην· ἕτοιμος γὰρ ἔφησεν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν μαχόμενος ἢ φιλοψυχήσας προσδέξασθαι πρᾶξιν ἐπονείδιστον, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς τὴν τύχην πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαρτεροῦντας τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτομολοῦσαν καὶ μεγίστην ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀνελπίστου μεταβολῆς παρεσχημένην τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀτίλιον συμφοράν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 352.)

14. Εἴκοσι τέσσαρα ἔτη πολεμήσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Καρχηδονίους, Λιλύβαιον δὲ δεκαετῆ χρόνον πολιορκήσαντες, πρὸς ἀλλήλους διελύθησαν.

(*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 509 W.)

Atilii rebuked their mother sternly, cremated the body of Bodostor and sent the ashes to his kinsmen, and brought Hamilcar relief from his dire distress.

13. When the envoys of the Romans, together with Gesco,[1] came to Barca and read the terms of the agreement, he remained silent up to a certain point. But when he heard that they were to surrender arms and hand over the deserters, he could not restrain himself but ordered them to depart at once. He was prepared, he said, to die fighting rather than agree through cowardice to a shameful act; and he knew too that Fortune shifts her allegiance and comes over to the side of men who stand firm when all seems lost, and that the case of Atilius had provided a striking demonstration of such unexpected reversals. 241 B.C.

14. After the Romans had been at war with the Carthaginians for twenty-four years and had held Lilybaeum under siege for ten years, they made peace. 264/3-241 B.C.

[1] Gesco was in command of the Carthaginian forces at Lilybaeum at the close of the war; cp. Polybius, 1. 66.

1. Ὅτι[1] Ἐπίκουρος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν[2] ταῖς ἐπιγεγραμμέναις[3] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Κυρίαις Δόξαις ἀπεφήνατο τὸν μὲν δίκαιον βίον ἀτάραχον ὑπάρχειν, τὸν δὲ ἄδικον πλείστης ταραχῆς γέμειν, βραχεῖ παντελῶς λόγῳ πολὺν καὶ[4] ἀληθῆ νοῦν περιλαβὼν καὶ τὸ σύνολον δυνάμενον τὴν κακίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διορθοῦσθαι. ἡ γὰρ ἀδικία μητρόπολις οὖσα τῶν κακῶν οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς[5] συλλήβδην ἔθνεσι καὶ δήμοις καὶ βασιλεῦσι τὰς μεγίστας ἀπεργάζεται συμφοράς.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 352 ; *Exc. Hoesch.* p. 509 W.)

2. Ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ τῆς Σικελίας μεγάλους ἀγῶνας καὶ κινδύνους ὑπομείναντες καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἴκοσι τέτταρα ἔτη συνεχῶς διαπολεμήσαντες οὐ τηλικούτων ἐπειράθησαν ἀτυχημάτων[6] ὅσων[7] ὁ πόλεμος αὐτοῖς αἴτιος ὑπῆρξεν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικηθέντας ὑπ' αὐτῶν μισθοφόρους. ἀποστερήσαντες γὰρ τοὺς ὀφειλομένους μισθοὺς τοῖς ἀλλοεθνέσιν παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτῆς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἅμα καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐστερήθησαν. οἱ γὰρ ἀδικηθέντες μισθο-

[1] Ὅτι omitted in H. [2] ἐπὶ H.
[3] ἐπιγραφομέναις V. [4] καὶ omitted in H.
[5] αὐτοῖς omitted in H.

1. Epicurus the philosopher, in his work entitled *Principal Doctrines*, declared that whereas the just life is unperturbed, the unjust is heavily burdened with perturbation. Thus in a single brief sentence he encompassed much true wisdom, which has, moreover, in general the power to correct the evil that is in man. For injustice, as it is a very *metropolis* of evils, brings the greatest misfortunes not only upon private citizens, but also collectively upon actual nations and peoples, and upon kings.[1]

2. Though the Carthaginians had endured great struggles and perils over Sicily and had been continuously at war with the Romans for twenty-four years, they experienced no disasters so great as those brought upon them by the war against the mercenaries [2] whom they had wronged. For as a result of defrauding their foreign troops of the arrears of pay that were due, they very nearly lost their empire and even their own country. For the mer- 241-238 or 237 B.C.

[1] See Book 21. 1. 4a and note. The quotation from Epicurus is number 17 in the collection.
[2] Also called the "Truceless War." The only complete account is given by Polybius (1. 65-88), whom Diodorus follows closely.

[6] So Valesius : ἀδικημάτων P.
[7] So Salmasius, Valesius : ὅσον P.

φόροι παραχρῆμα ἀποστάντες ταῖς ἐσχάταις συμφοραῖς περιέβαλον τὴν Καρχηδόνα.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 262.)

2 Ὑπῆρχον γὰρ οἱ μετὰ Καρχηδονίων στρατευσάμενοι Ἴβηρες, Κελτοί, Βαλεαρεῖς, Λίβυες, Φοίνικες,[1] Λιγυστῖνοι,[2] καὶ μιξέλληνες δοῦλοι· οἳ καὶ ἐστασίασαν.[3] (*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 509 W.)

3. Ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐξαπέστειλαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστάντας κήρυκα, τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν αἰτούμενοι. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Σπόνδιον ἡγεμόνες ἐπιτείνοντες τὴν ἀποθηρίωσιν οὐ μόνον ἀντεῖπον περὶ τῆς ταφῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ διηπειλήσαντο μηκέτι πέμπειν μηδένα κήρυκα περὶ μηδενὸς πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς τῆς αὐτῆς κολάσεως γενησομένης[4] τῷ παραγενομένῳ. εἰς δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνομοθέτησαν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς μὲν Καρχηδονίους τῆς αὐτῆς τούτοις ἀξιοῦν τιμωρίας,[5] τοὺς δὲ συμμαχοῦντας τοῖς Φοίνιξι χειροκοπεῖν καὶ πέμπειν ἠκρωτηριασμένους εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα. οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Σπόνδιον ἡγεμόνες διὰ τῆς εἰρημένης ἀσεβείας καὶ ὠμότητος ὑπετέμοντο τὴν διὰ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας στρατηγίαν τοῦ Βάρκα. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον Ἀμίλκας δυσχρηστούμενος τῇ ὠμότητι καὶ αὐτὸς ἠναγκάζετο τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τῆς εἰς[6] τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποστῆναι, τὴν δὲ τιμωρίαν παραπλησίαν ἐπιτιθέναι τοῖς ὑποπεσοῦσι. διόπερ τοὺς ἁλισκομένους αἰκιζό-

[1] Λίβυες, Φοίνικες] Λιβυφοίνικες Wesseling.
[2] So Wesseling: Λιγυστῆνοι H.
[3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: εὐτασίαν H.

cenaries thus cheated suddenly revolted, and thereby brought Carthage into the direst distress.

Those who had served in the Carthaginian forces were Iberians, Celts, Balearic Islanders, Libyans, Phoenicians, Ligurians, and mongrel Greek slaves; and they it was who revolted.

3. The Carthaginians sent a herald to the rebels to negotiate for the recovery of the dead bodies.[1] Spondius and the other leaders, with intensified brutality, not only refused the request for burial but forbade them ever again to send a herald about any matter whatsoever, threatening that the same[2] punishment would await anyone who came. They also decreed that henceforth all captives who were Carthaginians should incur the same penalty as these, while any who were allies of the Phoenicians should have their hands cut off and be sent back thus mutilated to Carthage. Hence, by such impiety and cruelty as I have described, Spondius and the other leaders succeeded in undermining Barca's strategy of leniency. For Hamilcar himself, though distressed by their cruelty, was in this way forced to abandon his kindness to prisoners and to impose a like penalty upon those who fell into his hands. Accordingly, by way of torture, he tossed to the elephants all who

[1] The rebels had cruelly tortured and put to death Gesco, their late benefactor, and seven hundred prisoners (cp. Polybius, 1. 80 and, for the events of the present chapter, 81-82). Polybius calls the rebel leader Spendius.
[2] *i.e.* the same as that inflicted on Gesco, as Polybius makes clear.

[4] So Dindorf: γενομένης P.
[5] τιμωρίας Salmasius, Valesius: τας (*s. acc.*) τιμωρίας P.
[6] τῆς εἰς Salmasius: στρατηγίαν τὴν εἰς P, μὲν τῆς εἰς Valesius, Vulgate.

μενος παρερρίπτει[1] τοῖς θηρίοις, ὑφ' ὧν καταπατούμενοι πικραῖς τιμωρίαις περιέπιπτον.

2 Ὅτι οἱ Ἱππακρῖνοι[2] καὶ οἱ Ἰτυκαῖοι ἀπέστησαν καὶ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὰς πόλεις ἔρριψαν ἀτάφους κατὰ τῶν τειχῶν, καὶ τοῖς παρὰ Καρχηδονίων πρεσβεύσασι περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως ἀντέπιπτον περὶ τῆς ταφῆς.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 262-263.)

4. Διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστάταις οὐχ ἧττον πολιορκεῖσθαι συνέβαινεν ἢ πολιορκεῖν διὰ τὸ σπανίζειν τροφῆς.

2 Συνέβαινε δὲ ταῖς μὲν τόλμαις αὐτοὺς μὴ λείπεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων, διὰ δὲ τὰς ἀπειρίας τῶν ἡγεμόνων μεγάλα βλάπτεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τότε συνιδεῖν ἦν[3] ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς πείρας ἡλίκην ὑπερβολὴν ἔχοι[4] στρατηγικὴ[5] σύνεσις ἰδιωτικῆς ἀπειρίας καὶ τριβῆς ἀλόγου καὶ στρατιωτικῆς.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 352-353; τότε συνιδεῖν to end, *Exc. Hoesch.* p. 510 W. = Chap. 4. 3 Dind.)

5. Τὸ γὰρ δαιμόνιον, ὡς ἔοικε, ταύτην ἀμοιβὴν τῶν ἀσεβημάτων αὐτοῖς ἐδικαίωσεν.

2 Ὅτι τὸν Σπόνδιον ἀνεσταύρωσεν Ἀμίλκας. ὁ δὲ Μάθως Ἀννίβαν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν σταυρὸν αἰχμάλωτον λαβὼν προσήλωσεν, ὥστε δοκεῖν τὴν τύχην ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἐναλλὰξ τὰς εὐημερίας καὶ τὰς ἥττας ἀπονέμειν τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ἠσεβηκόσιν.

3 Ὅτι αἱ δύω πόλεις οὐδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν εἶχον πρὸς

[1] So Valesius: αἰκιζόμενοι παρερρίφθαι P.
[2] So Dindorf (Ἱππακρινοὶ Valesius): πακρινοὶ P. Büttner-Wobst suggests Ἱππακρῖται (cp. Polybius 1. 70. 9; 73. 3).
[3] ἐστὶν H.

were taken prisoner, and it was a stern punishment as these trampled them to death.

The inhabitants of Hippo and Utica revolted and cast the men of the garrisons down from the walls to lie unburied; and when envoys arrived from Carthage to take up the bodies, they blocked the move to bury them.

4. And so it came about that the rebels, because of the scarcity of food, were as much in the position of men besieged as of besiegers.[1]

In courage they were fully the equals of the enemy, but they were seriously handicapped by the inexperience of their leaders. Here again, therefore, it was possible to see in the light of actual experience how great an advantage a general's judgement has over a layman's inexperience or even a soldier's unreasoned routine.

5. For it was a higher power, apparently, that exacted from them this retribution for their impious deeds.[2]

Hamilcar crucified Spondius. But when Matho took Hannibal prisoner, he nailed him to the same cross. Thus it seemed as if Fortune of set purpose was assigning success and defeat in turn to these offenders against humanity.[3]

The two cities [4] had no grounds for negotiating a

[1] This refers to the rebels' siege of Carthage; cp. Polybius, 1. 84. 1. The following passage is taken almost verbatim from Polybius, 1. 84. 5-6.
[2] Cp. Polybius, 1. 84. 10.
[3] Cp. Polybius, 1. 86. 4-7.
[4] Hippo and Utica, which refused to surrender (Polybius, 1. 88. 1-3).

[4] ὑπεροχὴν ἔχει H.
[5] στρατηγικὴ H, Polybius 1. 84. 6, στρατιωτικὴ V.

διάλυσιν διὰ τὸ μὴ καταλελοιπέναι σφίσιν ἐλέῳ μηδὲ συγγνώμῃ τόπον τινὰ κατὰ τὰς πρώτας ἐπιβολάς. οὕτω κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας μεγάλην[1] ἔχει διαφορὰν ἡ μετριότης καὶ τὸ[2] μηδὲν ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐπιτηδεύειν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 353 ; last sentence, *Exc. Hoesch.* p. 510 W. = Chap. 5. 4 Dind.)

6. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπαναχώρησιν οἱ μισθοφόροι Καρχηδονίων ἐπανέστησαν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἵππων τῶν θανόντων ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ τῶν σφαγέντων ἀνδρῶν τιμὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας . . .[3] καὶ ἐπολέμησαν ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας. σφάζονται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀμίλκα τοῦ Βάρκα στρατηγοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνδρικῶς ἐκρατύνατο.[4]

(*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 510 W.)

7. [Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ ἡ νῆσος διωνομάσθη τῇ τῶν καρπῶν ἀφθονίᾳ ὥστε Καρχηδονίους ὕστερον αὐξηθέντας ἐπιθυμῆσαι τῆς νήσου, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ κινδύνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀναδέξασθαι. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράψομεν.] (Diod. 4. 29. 6.)

8. Ὅτι Ἀμίλκας ὁ καὶ Βάρκας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρασχόμενος[5] τῇ πατρίδι κατὰ μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμῳ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Λιβύην, ὅτε τὴν ἀπόστασιν οἱ μισθοφόροι καὶ Λίβυες ποιησάμενοι συνεῖχον ἐν πολιορκίᾳ τὴν Καρχηδόνα. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις γὰρ τοῖς πολέμοις

[1] οὕτω τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὄντων μεγάλην H.
[2] H omits τό.
[3] Wesseling supplies ἀπῄτουν, but as Rhodoman notes the lacuna must be extensive.

settlement, because from the first onslaught they had left themselves no room for mercy or forgiveness. Such is the great advantage, even in wrongdoing, of moderation and the avoidance of practices that are beyond the pale.

6. After their withdrawal from Sicily the mercenary forces of the Carthaginians rose in insurrection against them for the following reasons. They demanded excessive compensation for the horses that had died in Sicily and for the men who had been killed . . . and they carried on the war for four years and four months.[1] They were slaughtered by the general, Hamilcar Barca, who had also fought valiantly in Sicily against the Romans.

7. [This island [2] gained such fame for the abundance of its crops that at a later time the Carthaginians, when they had grown powerful, coveted it and faced many struggles and perils for its possession. But we shall write of these matters in connection with the period to which they belong.]

8. Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, performed many great services for his country, both in Sicily, in the war against the Romans, and in Libya, when the mercenaries and the Libyans rose in insurrection and held Carthage under siege. Since in both these wars

[1] Polybius (1. 88. 7) says three years and four months. Livy (21. 2) has "per quinque annos."
[2] Sardinia. Cp. Polybius, 1. 79 ; 1. 88. 8-12 ; 3. 10 ; 3. 28. In 240 B.C. the Carthaginian mercenaries on the island revolted, and two years later Rome forced Carthage to cede her the island.

[4] Hoeschel, Rhodoman suggest ἐστρατεύσατο for ἐκρατύνατο.
[5] ὁ καὶ . . . παρασχόμενος Valesius : καὶ ὁ . . . παρασχόμενοι P.

τούτοις ἐπιφανεστάτας πράξεις κατεργασάμενος καὶ πολιτευόμενος ἐμφρόνως δικαίας ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις. ὕστερον δὲ μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην πολέμου συστησάμενος ἑταιρείαν τῶν πονηροτάτων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἀθροίζων καὶ ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ὠφελείας, ἔτι δὲ αὐτὸν ὁρῶν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐξανόμενον καὶ δοὺς εἰς δημοκοπίαν καὶ πλήθους ἀρέσκειαν παρεστήσατο τὸν δῆμον ἑαυτῷ παραδοῦναι τὴν στρατηγίαν ὅλης τῆς Ἰβηρίας[1] εἰς χρόνον ἀόριστον.[2] (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 263.)

9. Ὅτι οἱ μὲν Κελτοὶ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ὄντες πολλαπλάσιοι καὶ πεφρονηματισμένοι[3] τῷ θράσει καὶ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς καταπεφρονηκότως διηγωνίζοντο, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Βάρκαν τὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἐλλιπὲς[4] ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἐπειρῶντο διορθώσασθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν πᾶσιν ἔδοξαν ἐμφρόνως περὶ τούτων βεβουλεῦσθαι, ἡ δὲ τύχη παρ' ἐλπίδας ἐβράβευσε τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἀδύνατον εἶναι καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον παραδόξως κατώρθωσεν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 353.)

10. Ἀμίλκας δὲ στρατηγήσας κατὰ Καρχηδόνα

[1] So Walton: Λιβύης P.
[2] So Herwerden: ὀλίγιστον P, ἀλόγιστον Dindorf.
[3] καὶ πεφρονηματισμένοι Dindorf: καταπεφρονηματισμένοι V.
[4] So Dindorf: ἐλλειπὲς V.

[1] The MS. says "command over all Libya." This reading might seem to be supported both by the vague στρατηγήσας κατὰ Καρχηδόνα of chap. 10 and by the statements of Appian (*Hisp.* 4; cp. *Hann.* 2) that after the Libyan War Hamilcar got himself appointed general, jointly with Hanno, on the occasion of a Numidian revolt. Polybius, however, expressly states (2. 1. 5; 3. 10. 5) that Hamilcar left for Spain immediately after the Mercenary War. Diodorus has followed Polybius closely up to this point, and while the end of chap. 8 shows some influence of an anti-Barcid tradition alien to Polybius, the statement later in chap. 10 that Hamilcar sent Hasdrubal home from Spain on the occasion of the Numidian revolt would suggest that on the point at issue Diodorus and Polybius were again in agreement (cp. also Book 26. 24).

his achievements were outstanding and his conduct of affairs prudent, he gained the well-deserved approbation of all his fellow citizens. Later on, however, after the conclusion of the Libyan War, he formed a political group of the lowest sort of men, and from this source, as well as from the spoils of war, amassed wealth; perceiving, moreover, that his successes were bringing him increased power, he gave himself over to demagoguery and to currying favour with the populace, and thus induced the people to put into his hands for an indefinite period the military c. 237 B.C.
command over all Iberia.[1]

9. Since the Celts[2] were many times over more numerous, and because of their daring spirit and bold deeds had grown very arrogant, their attitude throughout the struggle was one of contempt, whereas Barca and his men sought to remedy their deficiency in numbers by bravery and experience. That their plans were soundly conceived was generally agreed, yet it was Fortune who beyond their hopes presided over the course of events and unexpectedly brought to a happy issue an undertaking that appeared impossible and fraught with peril.

10. When Hamilcar was placed in command at

[2] These Celts (possibly Celtiberians) are the same as those mentioned in the next fragment. They were mercenaries of the unwarlike Tartessians.

ταχὺ τὴν πατρίδα ηὔξησε, καὶ εἰς τὰς Ἡρακλείους στήλας καὶ εἰς τὰ Γάδειρα καὶ εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανὸν κατέπλευσεν. ἔστι δὲ τὰ Γάδειρα πόλις ἄποικος Φοινίκων· κεῖται μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς οἰκουμένης κατὰ αὐτὸν τὸν Ὠκεανόν, ὅρμον ἔχουσα. πολεμήσας δὲ Ἴβηρας καὶ Ταρτησίους[1] μετὰ Ἰστολατίου στρατηγοῦ[2] τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ πάντας κατέκοψεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοὺς δύο ἀδελφοὺς σὺν ἄλλοις ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἡγεμόσι· καὶ τρισχιλίους ζῶντας παραλαβὼν ἔταξεν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας στρατιάς.
2 Ἰνδόρτης δὲ πάλιν ἀθροίσας πεντακισμυρίους, καὶ πρὶν πολέμου τραπεὶς καὶ φυγὼν εἰς λόφον τινά, καὶ πολιορκηθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀμίλκα καὶ νυκτὸς πάλιν φυγών, τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτοῦ κατεκόπη, αὐτὸς δὲ Ἰνδόρτης καὶ ζωγρίας ἐλήφθη. ὃν τυφλώσας Ἀμίλκας καὶ τὸ σῶμα αἰκισάμενος ἀνεσταύρωσε· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους ὄντας μυρίων πλείους ἀπέλυσε. πολλὰς δὲ πόλεις τῇ πειθοῖ[3] προσηγά-
3 γετο, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ καταπολεμήσας. Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ὁ γαμβρὸς Ἀμίλκου πεμφθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ κηδεστοῦ εἰς Καρχηδόνα εἰς πόλεμον τῶν Νομάδων τῶν ἐπαναστάντων Καρχηδονίοις κατέκοψεν ὀκτακισχιλίους, ζωγρίας δὲ ἔλαβεν δισχιλίους, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐδουλώθησαν φόρους τελέσαντες.[4] ὁ δὲ Ἀμίλκας περὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πόλεις πολλὰς ὑποτάξας ἔκτισε πόλιν μεγίστην, καλέσας αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ τόπου θέσεως Ἄκραν Λευκήν. Ἀμίλκας

[1] So Wesseling: Ταρτεσίους H.
[2] καὶ after στρατηγοῦ deleted by Hoeschel.
[3] So Rhodoman: πειθῷ H.
[4] So Rhodoman (in marg.): τελέσαντας H, τελέσοντες Hoeschel, Rhodoman (and Vulgate).

Carthage he soon enlarged the empire of his country and ranged by sea as far as the Pillars of Heracles, Gadeira,[1] and the ocean. Now the city of Gadeira is a colony of the Phoenicians, and is situated at the farthest extremity of the inhabited world, on the very ocean, and it possesses a roadstead. Hamilcar made war on the Iberians and Tartessians, together with the Celts, led by Istolatius and his brother, and cut to pieces their whole force, including the two brothers and other outstanding leaders; he took over and enrolled in his own army three thousand survivors. Indortes then raised an army of fifty thousand men, but before the fighting even began he was put to flight and took refuge on a certain hill; there he was besieged by Hamilcar, and although, under cover of night, he again fled, most of his force was cut to pieces and Indortes himself was captured alive. After putting out his eyes and maltreating his person Hamilcar had him crucified; but the rest of the prisoners, numbering more than ten thousand, he released. He won over many cities by diplomacy and many others by force of arms. Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, having been sent by his father-in-law to Carthage to take part in the war with the Numidians who had revolted against the Carthaginians, cut down eight thousand men and captured two thousand alive; the rest of the Numidians were reduced to slavery, having formerly paid tribute.[2] As for Hamilcar, after bringing many cities throughout Iberia under his dominion, he founded a very large city which, from its situation, he named Acra

[1] Latin Gades, the modern Cadiz.
[2] Or perhaps "were subjugated and made to pay tribute." See critical note.

δὲ Ἑλικῇ τῇ πόλει παρακαθήμενος καὶ πολιορκῶν, τὸ πλεῖστον στράτευμα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας εἰς παραχειμασίας ἐν τῇ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κτισθείσῃ πόλει Λευκῇ Ἄκρᾳ ἀποστείλας, μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν παρέμεινε. συνεκβοηθήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀρισσῶν βασιλέως τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις, δόλῳ φιλίαν συνθέμενος[1]
4 καὶ συμμαχήσας ἔτρεψεν Ἀμίλκαν. τούτου δὲ φεύγοντος, τοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τὴν σωτηρίαν κατεσκεύασε δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ ἐκκλίνας· καταδιωκόμενος γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ποταμὸν μέγαν σὺν τῷ ἵππῳ ἐμβὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος διεφθάρη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ Ἀσδρούβαν τοὺς υἱοὺς διεσώθησαν εἰς τὴν Λευκὴν Ἄκραν.

5 Ἀμίλκας μὲν οὖν, καίπερ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρότερον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡλικίας τετελευτηκώς, ἐχέτω παρὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ὥσπερ ἐπιτάφιον τὸν ἴδιον ἔπαινον.

(*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 510-511 W.)

11. Ὅτι Ἀσδρούβας μαθὼν πρακτικωτέραν οὖσαν τῆς βίας τὴν ἐπιείκειαν προέκρινε τὴν εἰρήνην τοῦ πολέμου.

2 Διὸ πᾶσα ἡ[2] πόλις ἀεὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα φιλοπευστοῦσα καὶ ταῖς διαδιδομέναις φήμαις μετάμελος οὖσα πολλῆς ἀγωνίας ἐπληροῦτο.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 353.)

12. Ἀσδρούβας δὲ ὁ γαμβρὸς Ἀμίλκα μαθὼν τοῦ κηδεστοῦ τὸ ἀκλήρημα,[3] ταχέως ἀναζεύξας πρὸς τὴν Λευκὴν Ἄκραν ἦλθεν, ἔχων θηρία πλέον

[1] So Dindorf: *συνεπιθέμενος* H.
[2] *πᾶσα ἡ* Dindorf: only *π*῀.. now legible in V; *πᾶσα* Mai.
[3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: *ἀκλήτριμα* H.

Leucê.[1] While Hamilcar was encamped before the city of Helicê[2] and had it under siege, he sent off the greater part of his army and the elephants into winter quarters at Acra Leucê, a city of his own foundation, and remained behind with the rest. The king of the Orissi,[3] however, came to the aid of the beleagured city, and by a feigned offer of friendship and alliance succeeded in routing Hamilcar. In the course of his flight Hamilcar contrived to save the lives of his sons and his friends by turning aside on another road; overtaken by the king, he plunged on horseback into a large river and perished in the flood under his steed, but his sons Hannibal and Hasdrubal[4] made their way safely to Acra Leucê. 229/8 B.C.

As for Hamilcar, therefore, although he died many years before our time, let him have from History by way of epitaph the praise that is properly his.

11. Hasdrubal, having learned that fair dealing is more effective than force, preferred peace to war.

The entire city was constantly agog for news, and since every rumour that spread brought a change of heart, anxiety was universal.[5]

12. Hasdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, immediately upon learning of the disaster to his kinsman broke camp and made for Acra Leucê; he had with 229/8–221 B.C.

[1] "White Citadel," the modern Alicante.
[2] Perhaps Ilici, the modern Elche, a few miles south-west of Alicante.
[3] The Orissi are probably identical with the Oretani of Strabo.
[4] Hamilcar had both a son and a son-in-law named Hasdrubal.
[5] This sentence may refer to Rome on the eve of the Gallic War of 225 B.C.; see below, chap. 13, and cp. Polybius, 2. 23. 7.

τῶν ἑκατόν. οὗτος δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀναγορευθεὶς ὑπό τε τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ Καρχηδονίων πεντακισμυρίους ἐμπείρους πεζοὺς συνέλεξε καὶ ἱππεῖς ἑξακισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ διακοσίους. πολεμήσας δὲ πρῶτον τὸν Ὀρισσῶν βασιλέα κατέσφαξε[1] πάντας τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς Ἀμίλκα φυγῆς.[2] παρέλαβε δὲ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν οὔσας δώδεκα καὶ πάσας[3] τὰς πόλεις Ἰβηρίας. γήμας δὲ[4] θυγατέρα βασιλέως Ἰβήρου ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἰβήρων ἀνηγορεύθη στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. ὅθεν ἔκτισε παραθαλασσίαν πόλιν, ἣν προσηγόρευσε Νέαν Καρχηδόνα, καὶ ἑτέραν πόλιν ὕστερον, θέλων τὴν Ἀμίλκα δύναμιν ὑπερβῆναι. καὶ ἐστράτευσεν[5] ἑξακισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας διακοσίους. ὑπὸ δὲ οἰκέτου ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἐσφάγη, στρατηγήσας ἔτη ἐννέα.

13. Κελταὶ[6] δὲ μετὰ Γαλατῶν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον συνῆψαν ἀθροίσαντες[7] λαὸν μυριάδας εἴκοσι, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πόλεμον ἐνίκησαν· καὶ δεύτερον προσβαλόντες ἐνίκησαν, ἀνεῖλον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἕνα Ῥωμαίων ὕπατον. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες πεζῶν μυριάδας ἑβδομήκοντα, ἱππέων δὲ ἑπτακισμυρίους, τῶν δύο πολέμων ἡττημένων Ῥωμαίων,[8] τῷ τρίτῳ πολέμῳ κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκησαν

[1] So ed. Bipontina: κατέσφαγε H.
[2] Ἀμίλκα φυγῆς Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἀμικαγῆς H.
[3] So Rhodoman: πᾶσαν H.
[4] γυναῖκα ἔσχε after δὲ deleted by Dindorf.
[5] Hoeschel, Rhodoman would insert ἄγων πεζοὺς ftear ἐστράτευσεν.
[6] Κελταὶ H, Κελτοὶ ed. Rhodoman, Κέλται Dindorf[4].

him more than a hundred elephants. Acclaimed as general by the army and by the Carthaginians alike, he collected an army of fifty thousand seasoned infantry and six thousand cavalry, together with two hundred elephants. He made war first on the king of the Orissi and killed all who had been responsible for Hamilcar's rout. Their twelve cities, and all the cities of Iberia, fell into his hands. After his marriage to the daughter of an Iberian prince he was proclaimed general with unlimited power by the whole Iberian people. He thereupon founded a city on the sea coast, and called it New Carthage; later, desiring to outdo Hamilcar, he founded yet another city. He put into the field an army of sixty thousand infantry, eight thousand cavalry, and two hundred elephants. One of his household slaves plotted against him, and he was slain after he had held the command for nine years.

13. The Celts and Gauls, having assembled a force of two hundred thousand men, joined battle with the Romans and in the first combat were victorious. In a second attack they were again victorious, and even killed one of the Roman consuls.[1] The Romans, who for their part had seven hundred thousand infantry and seventy thousand cavalry, after suffering these two defeats, won a decisive victory in the third en- 225 B.C.

[1] C. Atilius Regulus. The events are narrated more clearly and amply in Polybius, 2. 23-31. The death of Regulus and the defeat of the Gauls both occurred in the same battle, at Telamon in Etruria. The figures given for the Roman forces reflect the census of Italian manpower, recorded by Polybius (2. 24); the actual army was of course much smaller.

[7] So Post: ἀθροίσαντες σύνηξαν H.
[8] τῶν . . . Ῥωμαίων] Herwerden would delete the whole clause. Hoeschel, Rhodoman suggest ἐν δύο δὲ πολέμοις κτλ.

Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἀνεῖλον μυριάδας τέσσαρας καὶ τοὺς ὑπολοίπους ἐζώγρησαν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν μέγιστον αὐτῶν βασιλέα ἑαυτοῦ θερίσαι τὸν τράχηλον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον αὐτοῦ ζῶντα ἁλῶναι.[1] ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδραγαθήματος ἀνθύπατος γενόμενος Αἰμίλιος[2] κατέδραμε τὴν χώραν τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ Κελτῶν, καὶ πολλὰς πόλεις καὶ φρούρια εἷλε, καὶ ὠφελείας πολλῆς ἐπλήρωσε τὴν Ῥώμην.

14. Ἱέρων δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς Συρακόσης εἰς τὸν Κελτικὸν πόλεμον Ῥωμαίοις σῖτον ἀπέστειλε βοηθῶν Ῥωμαίοις, οὗ καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἔλαβε μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσιν.

15. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν σφαγὴν Ἀσδρούβα τοῦ Καρχηδονίου ἀναρχίας οὔσης τὸν μείζονα υἱὸν Ἀμίλκα Ἀννίβαν στρατηγὸν ἐχειροτόνησαν. Ζακανθαίων δὲ ἡ πόλις πολιορκουμένη ὑπὸ Ἀννίβα, συναγαγόντες τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ[3] τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον τὸν ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις καὶ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν κόσμια καὶ ἐνώτια καὶ ἀργύρια, χωνεύσαντες ἔμιξαν χαλκὸν καὶ μόλιβδον, καὶ ἄχρηστον ποιήσαντες τὸν χρυσὸν ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ἡρωικῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι πάντες κατεκόπησαν, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ φονεύσαντες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες τὰ τέκνα φονεύσασαι ἑαυτὰς δι' ἀγχόνης[4] ἀπέπνιξαν. οὕτως ἀκερδῆ τὴν πόλιν παρέλαβεν Ἀννίβας. τὸν δὲ Ἀννίβαν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς δίκην αἰτήσαντες δι' ὧν παρηνόμησε καὶ μὴ

[1] So Herwerden, Hertlein: ποιῆσαι H.
[2] So Wesseling: Αἰμήλιος H.
[3] καὶ added, apparently, by Hoeschel. Rhodoman suggests εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τόν.
[4] So Hoeschel: διὰ χόνης H.

gagement. They slew forty thousand men and took the rest captive, with the result that the chief prince of the enemy slashed his own throat and the prince next in rank to him was taken alive. After this exploit Aemilius,[1] now become proconsul, overran the territory of the Gauls and Celts, captured many cities and fortified places, and sent back to Rome an abundance of booty.

14. Hiero, king of Syracuse, coming to the aid of the Romans, sent grain to them during the Celtic War, and was paid for it after the conclusion of the war.

15. Since after the assassination of Hasdrubal the 221 B.C.
Carthaginian there was no one in command, they chose as general Hannibal, the elder son of Hamilcar.
The people of Zacantha,[2] whose city was under siege 219 B.C.
by Hannibal, collected their sacred objects, the gold and silver that was in their houses, and the ornaments, earrings, and silver pieces of their women, and melting them down put copper and lead into the mixture; having thus rendered their gold useless they sallied forth and after an heroic struggle were all cut down, having themselves inflicted many casualties. The women of the city put their children to death and hanged themselves. The occupation of the city, therefore, brought Hannibal no gain. The Romans requested the surrender of Hannibal to be tried for

[1] L. Aemilius Papus, the other consul of 225 B.C. His raid on the Boii preceded his triumph (Polybius, 2. 31. 1-6), which, according to the Fasti Triumphales, he celebrated as consul, not as proconsul.
[2] Lat. Saguntum. In contrast to the account given here, Polybius (3. 17. 10) says that the fall of the city brought Hannibal much booty and many prisoners. Livy (21. 14-15) manages to combine the two versions.

λαβόντες πόλεμον τὸν Ἀννιβαϊκὸν καλούμενον ἔστησαν. (*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 511-512 W.)

16. Ὅτι ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκπεμφθέντων πρεσβευτῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῶν Καρχηδονίων δείξας τῇ γερουσίᾳ τὸν κόλπον[1] ἔφησε[2] φέρειν[3] αὐτοῖς[4] καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὸν πόλεμον· ἀπολείψειν οὖν τούτων ὁπότερον ἂν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι βουληθῶσιν. τοῦ δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων βασιλέως εἰπόντος ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ὁπότερον ἂν βούλοιτο, ἔφη, Τὸν πόλεμον ἐφίημι.[5] τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων οἱ πλείους εὐθὺς ἀνεβόησαν δέχεσθαι.

17. Ὅτι οἱ κατὰ τὴν Οὐικτόμελαν πόλιν ἐκπολιορκηθέντες συνέφυγον εἰς τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας ἐπὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας, τὴν ἐσχάτην παρ' αὐτῶν ληψόμενοι τέρψιν. ἐπειδὴ[6] τίς ἐστι τέρψις τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις εἰ μὴ δάκρυα καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐν τῷ ζῆν τῶν συγγενῶν ἄσπασμα;[7] ταῦτα γὰρ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν ἔχειν τινὰ δοκεῖ κουφισμὸν τῶν ἀκληρημάτων. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι τὰς οἰκίας ἐμπρήσαντες πανοικὶ μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν κατεφλέχθησαν καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἑστίας τάφον ἑαυτοῖς ἐπέστησαν, τινὲς δὲ εὐψυχοτάτως τοὺς ἰδίους προανελόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπικατέσφαξαν, αἱρετώτερον τὸν αὐτόχειρα θάνατον ὑπολαβόντες τοῦ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων μεθ' ὕβρεως συντελουμένου. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 353-354.)

[1] After κόλπον V has οἱ παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ Ῥωμαίων γενόμενοι πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν τῶν Καρχηδονίων λόγοι, recognized by Dindorf as an intrusive marginal note and deleted.

[2] So Dindorf: ἐψήφισαν V.

[3] So Mai: φέρε V.

[4] So Walton (cp. Polybius 3. 33. 2): αὐτὸν V, αὑτὸν Dindorf.

[5] ἀφίημι Dindorf.

[6] ἐπειδὴ Wifstrand, who makes the sentence a question: εἰ δὴ V.

[7] So Boissevain: ἀσπασμ.. V, ἀσπασμός Mai

his lawless acts, and when this was refused embarked on the "Hannibalic" War.

16. In the senate-chamber of the Carthaginians 218 B.C.
the eldest of the envoys sent by Rome showed to the senate the lap of his toga and said that he brought them both peace and war, and would leave there whichever the Carthaginians wished. When the suffete[1] of the Carthaginians bade him do whichever he wished, he replied, "I send on you war." Straightway a majority of the Carthaginians cried aloud that they accepted it.

17. The men of Victomela, having been forced to 218/7 B.C.
yield their city, hastened home to their wives and children to take pleasure in them for the last time. For indeed, what pleasure is there for men who are doomed to die save only tears and the last parting embraces of family and kindred, whereby, as it seems, such hapless wretches do gain some ease from their misfortunes? Be that as it may, most of the men set their houses ablaze, were consumed in the flames together with all their household, and raised for themselves a tomb above their own hearths; others, again, with high courage killed their families first and then slew themselves, considering a self-inflicted death preferable to death with outrage at the hands of their enemies.[2]

[1] Literally "king." The narrative is based closely on Polybius, 3. 33. 1-4.

[2] If, as is probable, Victomela is identical with Victumulae, in Liguria, this fragment belongs properly to Book 26, between chapters 2 and 3. According to Livy (21. 57) the capture of Victumulae came in the winter of 218/7 B.C., some time after the battle of the Trebia, but see G. de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, 3. 2. 99 ff., on the doubtful historicity of this part of Livy's narrative.

18. Τούτου ἐπίτροπος Ἀντίγονος κατασταθεὶς ὁ Δημητρίου κρατεῖ Μακεδόνων ἔτη δώδεκα, κατὰ δὲ Διόδωρον ἔτη ἐννέα.

(Georgius Syncellus, p. 508 Dind.)

19. Ἀννίβας, ὡς Διόδωρος γράφει καὶ Δίων ἅμα,
σὺν τούτοις Διονύσιος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσόθεν,
ἦν στρατηγὸς τῶν Σικελῶν, υἱὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἀμίλκα.
ὅστις Ἀμίλκας σύμπασαν εἷλε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν,
δόλοις ἐπιθεμένων δὲ κτείνεται τῶν Ἰβήρων.
τὸν πάντα τούτου γὰρ στρατὸν φεύγειν κελεύσας τότε
καὶ προσπλακέντας τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ συνθανεῖν ποθοῦντας
μάστιξι παρωσάμενος συμφεύγειν τοῖς ἑτέροις,
Ἀννίβαν πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν χρόνων ὑπηργμένον,
Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ δυώδεκα, τὸν λόφον, τὴν κυνέαν
ἄρας αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῖς Ἴβηρσιν ἐγνώσθη.
πάντων δ' Ἰβήρων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς εἶχον ὁρμησάντων,
οἱ φεύγοντες ἐσώζοντο τυγχάνοντες ἀδείας.
ὡς δὲ σωθέντα τὸν στρατὸν εἶδε, στραφεὶς ὀπίσω
λοιπὸν σπουδάζει μηδ' αὐτὸς Ἴβηρσι κρατηθῆναι.
ἐπικειμένων δὲ σφοδρῶς κυκλόθεν τῶν Ἰβήρων
τὸν ἵππον ἀκρατέστερον ἐλάσας τὸν οἰκεῖον

18. Antigonus,[1] son of Demetrius, was appointed 229-221 B.C.
his [2] guardian and ruled over the Macedonians for twelve years or, according to Diodorus, for nine.

19. Hannibal, as Diodorus, Dio, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus all record, was general of the Sicels [3] and the son of Hamilcar. This Hamilcar had conquered the whole of Iberia but was killed when the Iberians treacherously set upon him. On this occasion he ordered his whole army to flee, and when his sons—Hannibal, aged fifteen, and Hasdrubal, aged twelve—clung to him and desired to share his death, he drove them off with whips and made them join the others in flight; then lifting the crest and helmet from his head he was recognized by the Iberians. Since all the Iberians, just as they were, rushed to attack him, the fugitives gained a respite and escaped. As soon as Hamilcar saw that the army was safe he turned about and strove against his own defeat by the Iberians, but when they pressed hard on every side he spurred his horse furiously and dashed into

[1] Antigonus Doson, son of Demetrius the Fair.
[2] The young son of Demetrius II, the future Philip V.
[3] Here, as in Book 23. 16, Tzetzes confuses the Carthaginians and Sicels.

τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἴβηρος[1] τοῖς ῥεύμασιν ἐμπίπτει.
βάλλεται δὲ παρά τινος ὁρμῶν ἐν ἀκοντίῳ·
πλὴν καὶ πνιγεὶς οὐδὲ νεκρὸς τοῖς Ἴβηρσιν εὑρέθη·
ὃ τούτῳ πόθος ἦν· σύρεται γὰρ τοῖς ῥείθροις.
τούτου τοῦ ἥρωος ἀνδρὸς ὢν γόνος ὁ Ἀννίβας
ὑπὸ γαμβρῷ ἐτάττετο, σὺν ᾧ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν
πᾶσαν ἐλεηλάτησε ποινὴν πατρῴου φόνου.
ὡς δ' ἐν τοῖς μεταξὺ χρόνοις οἱ Αὔσονες Ῥωμαῖοι
τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἐνίκησαν πολλάκις νικηθέντες,
κέλευσμά τε βαρύτατον ἐκέλευσαν ἐκείνοις
ὡς μηδὲ ξίφος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποτέ τινα κατέχειν,
Ἀννίβας, χρόνων εἴκοσι γενόμενος καὶ πέντε,
χωρὶς συγκλήτου τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων
τοὺς θερμοτέρους συλλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ὀξεῖς τῶν νέων
ὡς ἑκατὸν καὶ πλείονας, ληστεύων Ἰβηρίαν
ἔζη, καὶ προσεπηύξανεν ἀεὶ στρατὸν τῶν νέων.
ὡς δ' ἡ πληθὺς ἐνίκα μὲν ἑκατοντάδας ἤδη,
εἰς χιλιάδας δ' ἔτρεχεν, εἶτα καὶ μυριάδας
καὶ μέγας γέγονε στρατὸς καὶ τῶν ἀξιομάχων,
ἄνευ μισθοῦ καὶ δωρεῶν οὕτω συνηθροισμένος,
εὐθὺ τοῦτο κατάδηλον ἐγένετο Ῥωμαίοις.
καὶ συνταχθέντες σύμπαντες στρατῷ πεζῷ καὶ στόλῳ,
ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα πληθύος μυριάδες

[1] Perhaps Τάβερος or Τέρεβος (cp. Ptolemy, *Geog.* 2. 6. 14).

the waters of the Iber[1] River. As he sped on someone struck him with a javelin; though he was drowned, still his corpse was not found by the Iberians—and that was his object—for it was swept away by the currents. Hannibal, the son of this heroic man, served under Hamilcar's son-in-law, and with him ravaged all Iberia to avenge his father's death.

Meanwhile the Ausonian Romans after many reverses had defeated the Sicels and had laid upon them the stern injunction that no one might retain even a sword. Hannibal, at the age of twenty-five, without the consent of the senate or of those in authority, brought together a hundred and more impetuous and spirited young men and lived by plundering Iberia, the while he constantly increased the size of his band. As its numbers passed beyond the hundreds and ran into the thousands and into the tens of thousands, and, though assembled thus without pay or bounties, when it became at last a great army of stalwart warriors, then straightway this was revealed to the Romans. One and all they arrayed themselves for war on land and sea, and seven hundred and seventy thousand strong they strove to

[1] The river is probably not the Ebro, but the Taber or Tereps, the modern Segura (or its tributary, Tarafa), near Ilici: see critical note.

πίτυος δίκην ἔσπευδον τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἐκτρῖψαι.
οἱ Σικελοὶ δ' ἱκέτευον παύσασθαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν
μὴ παντελῶς τὰ Σικελῶν ἄρδην ἀποφθαρείη.
ὁ δὲ παρεὶς τοὺς θέλοντας καὶ λέγειν καὶ λαβράζειν
οὐκ ἀναμείνας τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐκείνων τῶν Ῥωμαίων
μόνος ἐκ πάντων Σικελῶν χωρεῖ πρὸς Ἰταλίαν,
ἄνωθεν πορευόμενος Ἀλπιανῶν ὀρέων,
καὶ τούτων τὰ δυσείσβολα καὶ πέτρας κατατέμνων
ἐν ἓξ μησὶν ἐμπέπτωκε τάγμασι τῶν Ῥωμαίων.
ἐν διαφόροις μάχαις δὲ τούτων πολλοὺς ἀνεῖλεν.
Ἀσδρούβαν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκαραδόκει μένων,
ὃς διαβὰς τὰ ὄρεα ταῦτα τὰ τῶν Ἀλπίων
ἡμέραις πεντεκαίδεκα προσήγγιζεν Ἀννίβᾳ
ἄγων καὶ πλῆθος στρατιᾶς. ὃ γνόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι,
λαθραίως ἐπιθέμενοι τοῦτον μὲν ἀναιροῦσι,
τὴν κεφαλὴν δ' ἐνέγκαντες ἐπέρριψαν Ἀννίβᾳ.
ὁ δὲ θρηνήσας, ὡς ἐχρῆν, τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν φίλον,
ὕστερον ἀντετάξατο Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ταῖς Κάνναις,

destroy the Sicels root and branch. The Sicels besought Hannibal to desist, lest they perish utterly. He suffered such as were so inclined to talk and bluster, and without waiting for the aforesaid Romans to attack, one man alone of all the Sicels he moves on Italy and over the Alpine mountains makes his way. Where access was difficult he cut his way down rocky cliffs, and in six months had met the Roman forces. In various battles he slew large numbers of their men. But he kept waiting and watching for his brother Hasdrubal, who, after crossing the Alps in fifteen days, was approaching Hannibal leading a mighty army. Having discovered this the Romans, attacking secretly, slew him,[1] then brought the head and cast it at the feet of Hannibal. After he had duly mourned his beloved brother, Hannibal later arrayed his forces against the Romans at Cannae;

[1] Hasdrubal's invasion of Italy and death in battle actually occurred in 208 B.C. On the tradition that he was summoned to Italy in 215 B.C. see Hallward in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 8. 60, n. 1.

Ῥωμαίων ὄντων στρατηγῶν Παύλου καὶ Τερεντίου.
αἱ Κάνναι πεδιάδες δέ εἰσι τῆς Ἀπουλίας,[1]
οὗ Διομήδης ἔκτισε τὴν πόλιν Ἀργυρίππαν,
τουτέστιν Ἄργος Ἵππειον τῇ γλώσσῃ τῇ Ἑλλήνων.
αἱ πεδιάδες αὗται δὲ τυγχάνουσι Δαυνίων,
τῶν Ἰαπύγων ὕστερον, ἔπειτα Σαλαντίων,
τὰ νῦν δὲ πᾶσι Καλαυρῶν[2] τὴν κλῆσιν λεγομένων,
τῶν Καλαυρῶν[2] μεσόριον αὖτε καὶ Λογγιβάρδων,
οὗπερ ὁ μέγας πόλεμος ἐκείνοις ἀνερράγη.
τούτου ῥαγέντος τότε δὲ πολέμου τοῦ φρικώδους,
σεισμὸς ἐγένετο δεινός, ὡς ὄρη διαστῆναι,
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δ' ἐχύθησαν ὄμβροι μεγάλων λίθων·
οἱ δὲ θερμῶς μαχόμενοι τούτων οὐδὲν ἐπέγνων.
τέλος τοσοῦτο πέπτωκε πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν Ῥωμαίων
ὡς τὸν Ἀννίβαν στρατηγὸν πέμψαι τῇ Σικελίᾳ
τοὺς δακτυλίους στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐνδόξων
μεδίμνοις τε καὶ χοίνιξι πολλοῖς ἐμμετρηθέντας·
τὰς εὐγενεῖς καὶ πρώτας δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ὀδυρομένας προσδραμεῖν ναοῖς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ

[1] So Walton: Ἀργυρίππας. [2] Καλαβρῶν Dindorf[4].

the Roman generals were Paullus and Terentius. Cannae is a plainland of Apulia, where Diomedes founded the city of Argyrippa,[1] that is, in the Greek tongue, Argos Hippeion. This plain has belonged to the Daunians, thereafter to the Iapygians, then to the Sallentians, and now to the people whom all men call Calabrians; it was furthermore at the boundary between Calabrians and Lombards that the great battle between them broke forth. On the occasion of this fearsome battle there was a dreadful earthquake, which made mountains split asunder, and showers of great stones poured from heaven, but fighting hotly the warriors were unaware of anything.[2] Finally, so many Romans fell in battle that when Hannibal, the general, sent to Sicily the rings of the commanders and other men of distinction, it was by pecks and bushels that they were measured. The noble and prominent ladies of Rome thronged weeping to the temples of the city and cleansed the

[1] Arpi. There was a prophecy that the Romans would be defeated in the "plain of Diomedes"; cp. Zonaras, 9. 1.
[2] Tzetzes seems to have borrowed these portents from Dio's account of the battle of Trasimene; cp. Zonaras, 8. 25.

καὶ ταῖς θριξὶν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν καθαίρειν ἕδη τούτων,
ὕστερον καὶ μιγῆναι δὲ καὶ δούλοις καὶ βαρβάροις,
λειψανδρησάσης παντελῶς τῆς Ῥωμαΐδος χώρας,
ὅπως μὴ πρόρριζον αὐτῶν ἐκθαμνισθῇ τὸ γένος.
τότε δ' ἡ Ῥώμη, παντελῶς πάντων ἀνῃρημένων,
ἄκλειστος ἵστατο πολλοῖς ἡμεροδρόμοις κύκλοις.
οἱ γέροντες δ' ἑζόμενοι τοῖς ταύτης προπυλαίοις
τὴν συμφορὰν ὠδύροντο τὴν ὑπερπαθεστάτην·
τοὺς παριόντας δ' ἤροντο μή πού τις ζῶν ἐλείφθη.
τοιαύτης τότε συμφορᾶς τὴν Ῥώμην κατασχούσης,
Ἀννίβας κατημέλησε ταύτην ἐγκατασκάψαι
νίκαις καὶ πότοις καὶ τρυφαῖς φανεὶς ἀμβλὺς πρὸς τοῦτο,
ἔστ' ἂν συνήχθη στράτευμα Ῥωμαίων τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.
τότε τριττῶς ἀπείρχθη δὲ πρὸς Ῥώμην ἐξορμήσας·
αἴφνης ἐκ τῆς αἰθρίας γὰρ χάλαζα σφοδρωτάτη
καὶ γνόφος ἐγγινόμενος εἶργε πορείας τοῦτον.
ὕστερον δὲ φθονούμενος τοῖς Σικελοῖς Ἀννίβας,

statues with their hair; later, when the Roman land suffered a total dearth of males, they even consorted with slaves and barbarians, that their race might not be wiped out root and branch. At this time Rome, when absolutely all its men were lost, stood wide open for many days, and the elders sat before its gates, bewailing that most grievous calamity and asking those who passed by whether none at all was left alive. Though Rome was then gripped by such misfortunes, Hannibal neglected the chance to raze it to the ground, and showed himself too sluggish for such action by reason of victories and drinking and soft living, until the Romans again had an army of their own levied. Then he was thrice balked in his attacks on Rome, for suddenly out of a clear sky came hail most violent and a darkness that hindered his advance. At a later time Hannibal, now regarded with envy by the Sicels, ran short of food, and when

ἐν σίτου χρείᾳ γεγονώς, καὶ μὴ στελλόντων τούτων,
ὁ πρὶν γενναῖος νικητὴς λιμῷ νενικημένος
φυγὰς ὑπὸ Σκηπίωνος γίνεται τοῦ Ῥωμαίου
καὶ Σικελοῖς παραίτιος δεινῆς πανωλεθρίας.
αὐτὸς δὲ φάρμακον πιὼν θνήσκει πρὸς Βιθυνίαν,
πρός τι χωρίον Λίβυσσαν καλούμενον τῇ κλήσει,
δοκῶν θανεῖν εἰς Λίβυσσαν πατρίδα τὴν οἰκείαν.
ἦν γὰρ Ἀννίβᾳ τις χρησμὸς οὕτω που γεγραμμένος·
Λίβυσσα κρύψει βῶλος Ἀννίβα δέμας.

(Tzetzes, *Hist.* 1. 700-802.)

they sent none, that once noble conqueror, himself now conquered by starvation, was put to flight[1] by the Roman Scipio, and was the occasion for fearful destruction to the Sicels. He himself died by drinking poison in Bithynia, at a place called Libyssa, though he had thought to die in his own Libyan land. For Hannibal had a certain oracle, which ran somewhat like this: "A Libyan[2] sod shall cover the body of Hannibal."

[1] Or perhaps "was driven into exile."

[2] In Greek the adjective has the same form as the name of the Bithynian town. Cp. Pliny, *H.N.* 5. 43. 148: "Fuit et Libyssa oppidum, ubi nunc Hannibalis tantum tumulus."

1. Οὔτε ποιητὴς οὔτε συγγραφεὺς οὔτε ἄλλος τεχνίτης οὐδεὶς παραγγελίας τινὸς λογικῆς δύναται πᾶσι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι κατὰ πᾶν εὐαρεστῆσαι· θνητῇ δὲ φύσει, κἂν ὅλως ἐπιτετευγμένη γένηται, οὐ δυνατὸν ἐφικέσθαι τῆς ἀμέμπτου πάντων εὐαρεστήσεως. οὔτε γὰρ Φειδίας, μάλιστα τεθαυμασμένος ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἐλεφαντίνων ἀγαλμάτων κατασκευῇ,[1] οὔτε Πραξιτέλης ὁ καταμίξας ἄκρως τοῖς λιθίνοις ἔργοις τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη, οὔτε Ἀπελλῆς ἢ Παρράσιος οἱ τοῖς ἐμπειρικῶς κεκραμένοις χρώμασι προαγαγόντες[2] εἰς ἀκρότατον τὴν[3] ζωγραφικὴν τέχνην, οὕτως ἐπέτυχον ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὥστε κατὰ πᾶν ἄμεμπτον ἐπιδείξασθαι τὸ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἀποτέλεσμα. τίς γὰρ ἐπιφανέστερος τῶν μὲν ποιητῶν Ὁμήρου, τῶν δὲ ῥητόρων Δημοσθένους, τῶν δὲ εὖ βεβιωκότων Ἀριστείδου καὶ Σόλωνος; ἀλλ' ὅμως ταῖς τούτων εὐφημίαις καὶ δυνάμεσι προσῆλθεν ὁ μεμφόμενος καὶ τὰς ἀγνοίας
2 ἐλέγχων[4] λόγος. ἄνθρωποι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐγχειρουμένων ὑπεροχαῖς ἐπιτυγχάνοντες, ὅμως διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην[5] ἀσθένειαν διέπιπτον ἐν πολλοῖς.

[1] τῇ . . . κατασκευῇ Rhodoman: τὴν . . . κατασκευὴν H.

1. Neither the poet nor the historian nor indeed any craftsman in literary form can in all respects satisfy all his readers; for human nature, even though carried to the highest degree of perfection, cannot succeed in winning the approval of all men and the censure of none. Pheidias, for example, was admired above all others for the fabrication of ivory statues; Praxiteles in masterly fashion embodied the emotions in works of stone; Apelles and Parrhasius by their practised skill in blending colours brought the art of painting to its peak. Yet not one of these men attained such success in his work that he could display a product of his skill in all respects above censure. Who, for instance, among poets is more illustrious than Homer? Who among orators than Demosthenes? Who among men of upright life than Aristeides and Solon? Yet even their reputations and talents have been assailed by criticism and the demonstration of mistakes. For they were but human, and though they achieved pre-eminence in their professions, yet through human frailty they

[2] So ed. Wesseling: προσάγοντες H, προάγοντες Hoeschel, Rhodoman.
[3] ἀκρότατον τὴν ed. Wesseling: ἀκροτάτην H, ἀκρότατον Hoeschel, Rhodoman.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἔλεγχον H.
[5] So ed. Wesseling: ἀνθρωπίνων H.

ἔστι γάρ τινα τῶν ἀνθρωπίων[1] φιλόφθονα καὶ μικρόσοφα, τὰ παραπέμποντα μὲν τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα τῶν ἐπιτελεσθέντων, προσπλεκόμενα δὲ τοῖς ἐπιδεχομένοις διαστροφήν τινα καὶ πιθανὴν μέμψιν, ἐξ ὧν φιλοτιμοῦνται διὰ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορίας τὴν ἰδίαν αὐξήσειν ἐμπειρίαν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι πᾶσα δύναμις οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀλλοπαθείας ἀσθενεῖ,[2] ἀλλ'
3 ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας ἕξεως θεωρεῖται. θαυμάσειε δὲ ἄν τις τῆς τοιαύτης ἀβελτερίας τὴν εἰς τὰ φαῦλα φιλοπονίαν, δι' ἧς τινες πειρῶνται ταῖς κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων βλασφημίαις ἰδίαν εὐδοξίαν ἀποφέρεσθαι.[3] εἰσὶ γάρ τινες, οἶμαι, φύσεις[4] σκαιότητι βλάπτουσαι, καθάπερ ἐκκαίουσαι τὰ καλὰ τῶν γεννημάτων πάχναι καὶ χιόνες. καὶ γὰρ διὰ[5] τὴν ἀνταύγειαν τῆς κατὰ τὴν χιόνα λευκότητος ἀμαυρουμένη ἡ ὄψις τῆς ἀκριβοῦς θεωρίας ἀποστερεῖται, καὶ προαιρέσεις ἀνθρώπων ἀξιόλογον μὲν ἔργον οὔτε βουλόμεναι δρᾶν οὔτε δυνάμεναι, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πεποιημένα διασύρουσι. διὸ χρὴ[6] τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας τοῖς μὲν διὰ ἐπιμέλειαν κατωρθωκόσιν[7] ἀρετῆς[8] ἀπομερίζειν τὸν ἔπαινον, τοῖς δὲ σπανίως κατορθοῦσι μὴ συκοφαντεῖν ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως τὴν ἀσθένειαν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν βασκαίνειν ἐπιτηδευόντων ἱκανὸν ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω. (*Exc. Hoesch.* pp. 512-513 W.)

2. Ὅτι Ἀννίβας ἦν φύσει μάχιμος, καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἐκ παιδὸς πείρᾳ πεπονημένος καὶ

[1] So Dindorf: ἀνθρώπων H.
[2] ἀλλοπαθείας ἀσθενεῖ] ἀλλοτρίας ἀσθενείας Wurm.
[3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: ἐπιφέρεσθαι H.
[4] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: φύσεως H.

failed in many cases. Now there are certain paltry fellows, full of envy and wise in petty things, who dismiss all that is excellent in any achievement but fasten upon whatever admits of distortion or plausible censure. Thereby, through their denunciation of others, they aspire to enhance their own skill, failing to realize that infirmity of talent is not the result of external influences, but that, on the contrary, every talent is judged in and for itself.[1] We may well marvel at the industry which such foolish minds expend upon trivialities in their attempts to win a good name for themselves by reviling others. It is the very nature of some people, I think, to be stupidly mischievous, just as it is the nature of frosts and snow to blast fine young crops. Indeed, just as the eye is dimmed by the dazzling whiteness of snow and loses its power of exact vision, so there are men who neither will nor can themselves achieve anything of note, and who therefore of set purpose disparage the accomplishments of others. Hence men of good understanding should award to those who by diligent efforts have won success the praise due to excellence, but should not carp at the human frailties of those whose success is small. So much, then, for those who make a practice of evilspeaking.

2. Hannibal was a born fighter, and having been reared from boyhood in the practice of warfare and

[1] Or, accepting the emendation of Wurm: "failing to realize that every talent is judged, not by the infirmity of others, but by its own soundness."

[5] μὲν after διὰ deleted by Dindorf.
[6] χρὴ added by Hoeschel, Rhodoman.
[7] τοῖς . . . κατωρθωκόσιν Hoeschel, Rhodoman: τοὺς . . . κατωρθωκότας H.
[8] So Wurm: ἀρετὴν H.

συνεστρατευκὼς ἔτη πλείω μεγάλοις ἡγεμόσι πολλὴν εἶχε τριβὴν τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων. κεχορηγημένος δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀγχινοίᾳ καὶ πεποιημένος[1] στρατηγικὴν ἀρετὴν διὰ τῆς πολυχρονίου περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκήσεως μεγάλας ἐλπίδας εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 263.)

3. Ὅτι Ἀννίβας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δικτάτωρος Φαβίου σύνεσιν ἀντιμηχανώμενος εἰς παράταξιν αὐτὸν προὐκαλεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς τῆς δειλίας ὀνείδεσιν ἐπειρᾶτο συναναγκάζειν εἰς τὴν διὰ μάχης κρίσιν συγκαταβαίνειν. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐβλασφήμει τὸν δικτάτωρα καὶ παιδαγωγὸν ἐπικαλῶν[2] αὐτὸν ὠνείδιζε τὴν δειλίαν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ὕβριν ἀταράχως καὶ βαθέως[3] ἔφερεν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 354.)

2 Καθάπερ γὰρ ἀθλητὴς ἀγαθὸς πολὺν χρόνον χειραλειπτήσας[4] ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καταντᾷ ἐμπειρίαν μεγάλην καὶ δύναμιν πεποιημένος.[5]

(*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 513 W.; cp. Suidas, *s.v.* χειραλειπτήσας.)

3 Ὅτι τοῦ Μινυκίου ἡττηθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ[6] Ἀννίβου, ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ὑπὸ πάντων ἐκρίθη Μινύκιος μὲν ἀφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀπειρίᾳ τοῖς ὅλοις ἐπταικώς, Φάβιος δὲ ἀγχινοίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ στρατηγικῇ διὰ παντὸς προνενοημένος τῆς ἀσφαλείας.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 263.)

[1] So Reiske: πεπονημένος P, περιπεποιημένος Herwerden.
[2] ἀποκαλῶν Herwerden, Dindorf[4].
[3] So Nock (cp. Latte, *Philologus*, 87 [1932], 272, on Julian, *Epist.* 30): .αρεως V, βαρέως Mai, πρᾴως Herwerden.
[4] χειραλειπτήσας χρόνον Suidas, χρόνον χειμαλειπτήσας H.

having spent many years in the field as the companion of great leaders, he was well versed in war and its struggles. Nature, moreover, had richly endowed him with sagacity, and since by long years of training in war he had acquired the ability to command, he now had high hopes of success.

3. As a countermeasure to the shrewd policy of Fabius the dictator[1] Hannibal challenged him again and again to open combat, and by taunts of cowardice sought to compel him to accede to a decision by battle. When he remained unmoved, the Roman populace began to criticize the dictator, called him "Lackey,[2]" and reproached him with cowardice. Fabius, however, bore these insults calmly and with self-possession. 217 B.C.

Like a good athlete he entered the contest only after long training, when he had gained much experience and strength.[3]

Once Minucius[4] had been worsted by Hannibal, everyone decided after the event that his total failure was the result of folly and inexperience, but that Fabius, by his sagacity and his ability as a strategist, had shown throughout a prudent concern for safety.

[1] Q. Fabius Maximus, chosen as *dictator* after the Roman disaster at Trasimene. His policy of studied inactivity won him the abusive title of "Cunctator," which only later was converted into a term of praise.
[2] Literally "pedagogue," because, it was said, he followed Hannibal about like the slaves who escorted children to and from school: cp. Plutarch, *Fabius*, 5.
[3] Suidas refers this to Fabius.
[4] M. Minucius Rufus, *magister equitum* and then co-dictator with Fabius. He was saved from total disaster only by the intervention of Fabius: cp. Polybius, 3. 104-105.

[5] So Wesseling: πεποιημένων H.
[6] So Salmasius, Valesius: τῶν P.

4. Μηνόδοτος δὲ ὁ Περίνθιος τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πραγματείας ἔγραψεν ἐν βιβλίοις πεντεκαίδεκα, Σώσιλος δὲ ὁ Ἠλεῖος[1] τὰ περὶ Ἀννίβαν ἔγραψεν ἐν βιβλίοις ἑπτά.

5. Κατὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίους ἡ λεγεὼν πεντακισχίλιοί εἰσιν. (*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 513 W.)

6. Ὅτι[2] φύσει οἱ ἄνθρωποι ταῖς μὲν εὐημερίαις προστρέχουσι, τῇ δὲ τῶν πταισάντων[3] τύχῃ συνεπιτίθενται.[4]

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 354; *Exc. Hoesch.* p. 513 W.)

2 Τὴν γὰρ τύχην εὐμετάβολον[5] οὖσαν φύσει ταχὺ τὴν ἐναντίαν εἰσάξειν μεταβολήν.

(*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 513 W.)

7. Ὅτι Δωρίμαχος ὁ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν στρατηγὸς ἀσεβῆ συνετελέσατο πρᾶξιν· τὸ γὰρ περὶ Δωδώνην μαντεῖον συλήσας, ἐνέπρησε τὸ ἱερὸν πλὴν τοῦ σηκοῦ.[6] (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 264.)

8. Ῥόδου γὰρ ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ μεγάλου καταπτωθείσης,[7] Ἱέρων ὁ Συρακούσιος ἔδωκεν εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ τείχους ἀργυρίου ἓξ[8] τάλαντα καὶ ἀργυρίους λέβητας ἀξιολόγους χωρὶς τοῦ νομίσματος καὶ ἀτέλειαν τοῖς σιτηγοῖς πλοίοις.

[1] So Wilamowitz, Keil: Ἴλιος H, Λακεδαιμόνιος Jacoby.
[2] H omits Ὅτι and reads *φύσει μὲν ἄνθρωποι ταῖς εὐημερίαις.*
[3] So Hoeschel, Rhodoman: *φθασάντων* HV (V omits *τῶν*).
[4] *συνεπιτίθεσθαι* H.
[5] So Dindorf: *ψυχὴν ἀμετάβολον* H.
[6] So Vulgate: *σικοῦ* P; Dindorf[3] has *οἰκοῦ.*
[7] Wurm suggests *καταποθείσης.*
[8] *ἀργυρίου ϛʹ* Hoeschel, Rhodoman: *ἀργυριοὺς* H.

4. Menodotus of Perinthus wrote a *Treatise on Greek History* in fifteen books; Sosylus of Elis wrote a *History of Hannibal* in seven books.[1]

5. The Roman legion consists of five thousand men.[2]

6. Men naturally rally to the banners of success, but join in attacks on the fortunes of the fallen.

Fortune is changeable by nature and will swiftly bring about a reversal of our situation.

7. Dorimachus,[3] the Aetolian general, perpetrated 219 B.C. an impious deed, for he plundered the oracle of Dodona and set fire to the temple, except for the cella.

8. For since Rhodes had been laid low by a great earthquake, Hiero of Syracuse gave six talents of silver for the reconstruction of the city walls and, in addition to the money, gave a number of fine vases of silver; and he exempted their grain ships from the payment of duty.[4]

[1] For Menodotus cp. Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 82; for Sosylus, no. 176, and for a discussion of his ethnic, Keil, *Philologus*, 87 (1932), 263-264.

[2] Polybius (3. 107. 10-11) sets the normal figure for the infantry of a legion at about 4000, but says that in times of crisis 5000 might be used.

[3] Dorimachus of Trichonium, who with Scopas instigated the War of the Allies, or Social War, fought by the Aetolian League and its allies against Philip V of Macedon and the Achaean League (220–217 B.C.). In the arrangement of his work Diodorus here follows Polybius, who, after carrying the Hannibalic War down to Cannae (216 B.C.) in Book 3, reverts in Books 4 and 5 to the affairs of Greece. For the raid on Dodona cp. Polybius 4. 67. 1-4.

[4] According to Polybius (5. 88. 5-8) the gifts of Hiero and Gelo had a total value of 100 talents. The earthquake, which destroyed the famous Colossus, occurred probably in 227 or 226 B.C.

9. Ἡ νῦν δὲ καλουμένη Φιλιππόπολις κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν Φθιώτιδες Θῆβαι ἐκαλοῦντο.

(*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 513 W.)

10. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Καπύην προτεθείσης βουλῆς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ κοινῇ τί πρακτέον εἴη περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ Καπυηνοὶ γνώμην ἀποφήνασθαι τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ Παγκύλῳ Παύκῳ.[1] ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς τῶν φρενῶν γεγονὼς διὰ τὸν Ἀννίβου φόβον ὤμοσε τοῖς πολίταις ἰδιότροπον ὅρκον. ἔφησε γάρ, εἰ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐλπίδα μίαν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, οὐκ ἂν μετέστη πρὸς Καρχηδονίους· νῦν δὲ φανερᾶς οὔσης τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ὑπεροχῆς καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου ταῖς πύλαις ἐφεστῶτος, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς εἴκειν. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ πάντων συγκαταθεμένων προστίθεσθαι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις . . .

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 354-355.)

11. Ὅτι ἡ τοῦ Ἀννίβου δύναμις πολὺν χρόνον τῆς τῶν Καμπανῶν εὐδαιμονίας ἀπλήστως ἐμπλησθεῖσα μετέβαλε ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς εἰς τοὐναντίον· τρυφῆς γὰρ συνεχοῦς καὶ μαλακῆς εὐνῆς καὶ μύρων παντοίων καὶ παντοίας τροφῆς[2] πολυτέλεια[3] τὴν μὲν ἀλκὴν[4] καὶ συνήθη τῶν δεινῶν ἐξέλυσεν ὑπομονήν,[5] τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ τὰς[6] ψυχὰς εἰς γυναικώδη καὶ τρυφερὰν διάθεσιν μετέστησεν. ἡ γὰρ[7] ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις τὴν μὲν[8] ἀσυνήθη[9] τῶν πόνων ἄσκησιν καὶ

[1] So Mai: V now shows only παγκυλω . . . κω.
[2] τρυφῆς H. [3] πολυτελείας P. [4] μαλακὴν H.

9. What is now called Philippopolis[1] in Thessaly was formerly called Phthiotic Thebes. 217 B.C.

10. When the question of revolt was brought forward at a public assembly in Capua and the course of action to be taken was being debated, the Capuans allowed a certain Pancylus Paucus[2] to express his opinion. Fear of Hannibal had driven him out of his mind, and he swore to his fellow citizens a peculiar oath. If, he said, there were still one chance in a hundred for the Romans, he would not go over to the Carthaginians; but since, in fact, the superiority of the enemy was manifest and danger now stood at their very gates, they must perforce yield to this superiority. In this way, all having agreed to join forces with the Carthaginians . . . 216 B.C.

11. After the army of Hannibal had for some time greedily taken their fill of the riches of Campania, their whole pattern of life was reversed. For constant luxury, soft couches, and perfumes and food of every sort, all in lavish abundance, relaxed their strength and their wonted ability to endure danger, and reduced both body and spirit to a soft and womanish condition. Human nature, in fact, accepts only with distaste the unaccustomed practice of hardships and 216/5 B.C.

[1] The city was captured by Philip in 217 B.C. during the War of the Allies, and was resettled under its new name with Macedonians: cp. Polybius, 5. 99-100.

[2] The accepted form of the name, as given by Livy (23. 2 ff.), is Pacuvius Calavius. He was at this time the chief magistrate, *medix tuticus*, at Capua.

[5] ὑπομονὴν ἐξέλυσε H.
[6] τὰς omitted in H.
[7] ἡ γὰρ] ἡ μὲν γὰρ H, ὅτι ἡ V. Dindorf deletes μὲν here.
[8] μὲν added by Dindorf.
[9] συνήθη V.

δίαιταν εὐτελῆ δυσχερῶς[1] προσίεται, τὴν δὲ ῥᾳστώνην καὶ τρυφὴν ἑτοίμως[2] διώκει.

("Οτι ἡ . . . μετέστησεν, *Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 264; τρυφῆς to end, *Exc. Hoesch.* p. 514 W.; last sentence, *Const. Exc.* 4, p. 355.)

12. Ποικίλη δέ τις ἀνωμαλία κατεῖχε τὰς πόλεις, ὡς ἂν τῆς ὁμονοίας δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε λαμβανούσης τὰς ῥοπάς.

2 "Οτι ταῖς τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολαῖς καὶ τὰς τῶν φίλων εὐνοίας θεωρεῖν ἔστιν συμμεταβαλλούσας.

3 "Οτι αἱ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀρεταὶ καὶ παρὰ πολεμίοις ἐνίοτε τυγχάνουσι τιμῆς.

4 "Οτι πολλαὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παρθένοι καὶ παῖδες ἐλεύθεροι συνείποντο τοῖς Καπυηνοῖς διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν τῆς τροφῆς· καὶ γὰρ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνίοτε βιάζεται τοὺς κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐν πολλῇ σεμνότητι ζῶντας ὑπομένειν ἀνάξια τῆς ἡλικίας πάσχοντας.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 355.)

13. Ἀννίβας γὰρ κακουχίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῆς Βρεττίας[3] παραλαβὼν ὕστερον καὶ τὴν Κρότωνα εἷλε καὶ τὸ Ῥήγιον πολιορκήσων. ἀπὸ δυσμῶν γὰρ ἀρξάμενος καὶ[4] τῶν Ἡρακλειωτικῶν στηλῶν πᾶσαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων χώραν ὑπέταξε πλὴν Ῥώμης καὶ Νεαπόλεως, πολεμήσας ἕως Κροτώνης.

(*Exc. Hoesch.* p. 514 W.)

14. "Οτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ Ἀννίβας πολλὰ κατηγορήσας εἰς ὠμότητα καὶ πονηρίαν, μᾶλλον δ'[5]

[1] δυσχερὲς V. [2] ὁμοίως H.
[3] So Dindorf, deleting Ῥώμης: Ῥώμης Βρεττανίας H, Ῥώμης καὶ Βρεττίας Hoeschel, Rhodoman.

meagre diet, whereas it takes eagerly to a life of ease and luxury.[1]

12. The cities[2] shifted and floundered as the weight of public opinion tipped the scales now this way, now that.

Even the goodwill of friends may be seen to change with changing circumstances.

The virtues of good men sometimes win them honour even among enemies.

Many women, unmarried girls, and freeborn boys accompanied the Capuan forces because of the shortage of food.[3] War does, in fact, sometimes compel those who in times of peace live in high dignity to endure conditions from which their years should exempt them. 212 B.C. (?)

13. Wreaking widespread devastation as he went, Hannibal also took over the cities of Bruttium, and later captured Croton and was about to invest Rhegium. Having set out from the west and the Pillars of Heracles, he brought into subjection all the territory of the Romans except for Rome and Naples, and he carried the war as far as Croton.[4] 216/5 B.C.

14. After having denounced the Romans at length for their cruelty and dishonesty, and especially their

[1] Cp. Livy, 23. 18. 10 ff.
[2] Presumably the cities of Italy, after the Roman defeat at Cannae and the defection of Capua.
[3] This fragment might more appropriately be placed before chap. 17 (cp. Appian, *Hann.* 36; Livy, 25. 13).
[4] The Hoeschel fragments end here, and as a result the division into books is uncertain until the Photius fragments begin in Book 31. The division followed here is that established by Dindorf.

[4] καὶ added by Hoeschel, Rhodoman.
[5] δ' added by Herwerden.

ὑπερηφανίαν, τοὺς τῶν συγκλητικῶν υἱοὺς καὶ συγγενεῖς ἐκλέξας ἀπέσφαξεν, ταύτην παρὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου λαμβάνων τιμωρίαν.

2 Ὅτι ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀλλοτριώτατα διακείμενος πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς εὐθέτους εἰς μονομαχίαν συνέζευξεν. ἀδελφοὺς μὲν ἀδελφοῖς, πατέρας δὲ υἱοῖς, συγγενεῖς δὲ συγγενέσι μονομαχεῖν ἠνάγκαζεν. ἔνθα δὴ δικαίως ἄν τις τοῦ μὲν Φοίνικος ἐμίσησε τὴν ὠμότητα, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐθαύμασε τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ὑπομονήν τε καὶ καρτερίαν. πυρὸς[1] γὰρ αὐτοῖς προσαγομένου καὶ κέντρων, ἔτι δὲ χαλεπωτάτων πληγῶν, οὐδεὶς ὑπήκουσε προσενεγκεῖν τὰς χεῖρας τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις· πάντες γὰρ εὐγενῆ παραστήματα λαβόντες ἐναπέπνευσαν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις, ἀθίκτους ἑαυτοὺς τηρήσαντες τῆς προσαλλήλου[2] μιαιφονίας.

15. Ὅτι Γέλωνος καὶ Ἱέρωνος τῶν βασιλέων κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν τετελευτηκότων ἐν Συρακούσαις, Ἱερωνύμου δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδεδεγμένου καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντος ἀντίπαιδος, οὐκ εἶχεν ἡ βασιλεία τὸν προστησόμενον ἀξιόχρεων. διὸ καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ταῖς τῶν κολάκων πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλίαις ἐξετράπη πρὸς τρυφὴν καὶ ἀκολασίαν καὶ τυραννικὴν ὠμότητα. ἐπετελεῖτο γὰρ γυναικῶν ὕβρεις καὶ τοὺς παρρησίᾳ χρωμένους τῶν φίλων ἀπέκτεινεν καὶ πολλῶν ἀκρίτως οὐσίας ἐδήμευσεν καὶ τοῖς πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλοῦσιν ἐδωρεῖτο. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐπηκολούθει ἐκ τῶν ὄχλων μῖσος, εἶτα καὶ ἐπιβουλία

[1] So Salmasius, Valesius: πρὸς P.
[2] So Dindorf[2] (in Addenda): πρὸς ἀλλήλαις P, πρὸς ἀλλήλους Salmasius, Dindorf[4].

arrogance, Hannibal singled out those who were the sons and kinsmen of senators, and in order to punish the senate, put them to death.

Because of his deep hostility to the Romans, Hannibal selected suitable prisoners and paired them off for single combat. He compelled brothers to fight against brothers, fathers against sons, kinsmen against kinsmen. Here, indeed, there is just cause to detest the savage cruelty of the Phoenician, and to admire the piety of the Romans and their steadfast endurance in so grievous a plight. For though they were subjected to fire and goads and were most cruelly scourged, not one of them consented to do violence to his kindred, but all in an access of noble devotion expired under torture, having kept themselves free from the mutual stain of parricide.[1]

15. Upon the death at Syracuse of Gelo and Hiero, 215 B.C.
the rulers of Sicily, and the succession to the throne of Hieronymus,[2] who was a lad in his teens, the kingdom was left without a capable leader. As a result the youth, keeping company with flatterers who courted him, was led astray into luxurious living, profligacy, and despotic cruelty. He committed outrages against women, put to death friends who spoke frankly, summarily confiscated many estates, and presented them to those who courted his favour. This behaviour brought in its train first the hatred

[1] This chapter refers to the fate of the Romans taken prisoner at Cannae, whom the senate refused to ransom: cp. Appian, *Hann.* 28, and Livy, 22. 58-61.
[2] Hiero died in the early summer of 215 B.C., a few months after his son, Gelo. Hieronymus, the son of Gelo, and grandson of both Hiero and Pyrrhus, was about 15 years old at this time. He reigned for thirteen months. Polybius (7. 7), without exonerating him, says that his crimes were greatly exaggerated.

καὶ ὁ τοῖς πονηροῖς δυνάσταις εἰωθὼς ἐπακολουθεῖν ὄλεθρος.

2 Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν Ἱερωνύμου τελευτὴν οἱ Συρακούσιοι ἐλθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς συγγενεῖς τοῦ τυράννου κολάσαι καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀνελεῖν, καὶ μηδὲ ῥίζαν ἀπολιπεῖν τυραννικῆς συγγενείας.

16. Ὅτι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Σεμπρωνίου Μάγωνος ἀποστείλαντος πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται κείμενον ὁρῶντες ἐβόων κατατέμνειν καὶ κατὰ μέρη διασφενδονῆσαι· ὁ δὲ Ἀννίβας φήσας οὐ προσήκειν τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς ἀναίσθητον σῶμα ἐναποτίθεσθαι καὶ λαβὼν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸ τῆς τύχης ἄδηλον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ θαυμάζων τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός, πολυτελοῦς ταφῆς ἠξίωσε τὸν τετελευτηκότα. ἀναλέξας δὲ τὰ τοῦ σώματος ὀστᾶ καὶ φιλανθρώπως περιστείλας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 264-265.)

17. Ὅτι ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σύγκλητος, ὡς ἤκουσε τὴν Καπύην περιειλημμένην πανταχόθεν τείχει διπλῷ, νομίζουσα . .αρον ἔσεσθαι[1] τὴν ἅλωσιν ὅμως οὐ διετήρησεν ἀμετάθετον τὴν ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν ἐψηφίσαντο πρὸ τακτῆς ἡμέρας τοὺς μεταθεμένους τῶν Καμπανῶν ἀθῴους εἶναι. ἧς δὴ παραπέμψαντες τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν οἱ Καμπανοὶ καὶ τὴν παρ' Ἀννίβου γενομένην βοήθειαν[2]

[1] τάχιον ἔσεσθαι Mai; Boissevain suggests εὔπορον ἔσεσθαι or οὐ χρονίσεσθαι; λιπαρὸν ἔσεσθαι Post.

[2] τῇ . . . γενησομένῃ βοηθείᾳ Herwerden.

of the populace, then a conspiracy, and finally the downfall that usually attends wicked rulers.

After the death of Hieronymus, the Syracusans, having met in assembly, voted to punish the whole family of the tyrant and to put them all to death, men and women alike, in order to uproot completely the tyrant stock.[1] 214 B.C.

16. Mago sent the body of Sempronius[2] to Hannibal. Now when the soldiers saw the corpse, they raised a clamour and demanded that it should be hacked apart and flung piecemeal to the winds. Hannibal, however, declared that it was not seemly to vent one's anger upon a senseless corpse, and confronted as he was by evidence of the uncertainty of Fortune, and at the same time moved by admiration for the man's valour, he granted the dead hero a costly funeral. Then having gathered up the bones and bestowed them decently, he sent them to the Roman camp. 212 B.C.

17. When the Roman senate heard that Capua had been completely invested with a double wall, they did not persist in a policy of unalterable hostility, even though the capture of the city now appeared (imminent ?). On the contrary, influenced by ties of kinship, they decreed that all Campanians who changed sides before a fixed date should be granted immunity. The Campanians, however, rejected the senate's generous proposals, and deluding themselves

[1] This fragment (15. 2) is misnumbered 16 in Dindorf's last edition (followed by Büttner-Wobst in the edition of the *Const. Exc.*).

[2] Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, consul in 215 and 213 B.C., was killed in 212 B.C. while in command of two legions of slaves enrolled after Cannae: see Polybius, 8. 35, and Livy, 25. 16-17. Mago was Hannibal's brother.

ψυχαγωγούμενοι τότε μετενόησαν ὅτ᾽ οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἦν[1] μεταμελεῖσθαι. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 355.)

18. [Θαυμάσαι δ᾽ ἄν τις εἰκότως τοῦ τεχνίτου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν οὐ μόνον ἐν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς καὶ μείζοσι διαβεβοημένοις κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρχιμήδους ἡλικίαν ἔλθωμεν ἀκριβῶς διέξιμεν.] (Diod. 5. 37. 4.)

Ὁ Ἀρχιμήδης ὁ σοφὸς μηχανητὴς ἐκεῖνος
τῷ γένει Συρακούσιος, ἦν γέρων γεωμέτρης,
χρόνους τε ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε παρελαύνων.
ὅστις εἰργάσατο πολλὰς μηχανικὰς δυνάμεις
καὶ τῇ τρισπάστῳ μηχανῇ χειρὶ λαιᾷ καὶ μόνῃ
πεντεμυριομέδιμνον καθείλκυσεν ὁλκάδα.
καὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου στρατηγοῦ ποτὲ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
τῇ Συρακούσῃ κατὰ γῆν προσβάλλοντος καὶ πόντον,
τινὰς μὲν πρῶτον μηχαναῖς ἀνείλκυσεν ὁλκάδας,
καὶ πρὸς τὸ Συρακούσιον τεῖχος μετεωρίσας
αὐτάνδρους πάλιν τῷ βυθῷ κατέπεμπεν ἀθρόως.
Μαρκέλλου δ᾽ ἀποστήσαντος μικρόν τι τὰς ὁλκάδας,
ὁ γέρων πάλιν ἅπαντας ποιεῖ Συρακουσίους
μετεωρίζειν δύνασθαι λίθους ἁμαξιαίους,
καὶ τὸν καθένα πέμποντα βυθίζειν τὰς ὁλκάδας·
ὡς Μάρκελλος δ᾽ ἀπέστησε βολὴν ἐκείνας τόξου,
ἑξάγωνόν τι κάτοπτρον ἐτέκτηνεν ὁ γέρων·
ἀπὸ δὲ διαστήματος συμμέτρου τοῦ κατόπτρου
μικρὰ τοιαῦτα κάτοπτρα θεὶς τετραπλᾶ γωνίαις

as to the aid received from Hannibal repented only when repentance was of no avail.[1]

18. [A man may well marvel at the ingenuity of the designer,[2] in connection not only with this invention but with many other and greater ones as well, the fame of which has encompassed the entire inhabited world and of which we shall give a detailed and precise account when we come to the age of Archimedes.]

Archimedes, the famous and learned engineer and mathematician, a Syracusan by birth, was at this time an old man, in his seventy-fifth year. He constructed many ingenious machines, and on one occasion by means of a triple pulley launched with his left hand alone a merchant ship having a capacity of fifty thousand medimni. During the time when Marcellus,[3] the Roman general, was attacking Syracuse both by land and by sea, Archimedes first hauled up out of the water some of the enemy's barges by means of a mechanical device, and after raising them to the walls of Syracuse, sent them hurtling down, men and all, into the sea. Then, when Marcellus moved his barges a bit farther off, the old man made it possible for the Syracusans, one and all, to lift up stones the size of a wagon, and by hurling them one at a time to sink the barges. When Marcellus now moved the vessels off as far as an arrow can fly, the old man then devised an hexagonal mirror, and at an appropriate distance from it set small quadrangular mirrors of the

212 or 211 B.C.

[1] Cp. Livy, 25. 22. 11-13.
[2] Archimedes.
[3] M. Claudius Marcellus.

[1] ὅτ᾽ οὐδὲν . . . ἦν Dindorf, Herwerden: ὅταν οὐθὲν . . . ἦσαν V.

κινούμενα λεπίσι τε καί τισι γιγγλυμίοις,
μέσον ἐκεῖνο τέθεικεν ἀκτίνων τῶν ἡλίου
μεσημβρινῆς καὶ θερινῆς καὶ χειμεριωτάτης.
ἀνακλωμένων δὲ λοιπὸν εἰς τοῦτο τῶν ἀκτίνων
ἔξαψις ἤρθη φοβερὰ πυρώδης ταῖς ὁλκάσι,
καὶ ταύτας ἀπετέφρωσεν ἐκ μήκους τοξοβόλου.
οὕτω νικᾷ τὸν Μάρκελλον ταῖς μηχαναῖς ὁ γέρων.
ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ Δωριστὶ φωνῇ Συρακουσίᾳ,
Πᾷ βῶ καὶ χαριστίωνι τὰν γᾶν κινήσω πᾶσαν;
οὗτος κατὰ Διόδωρον τῆς Συρακούσης ταύτης
προδότου πρὸς τὸν Μάρκελλον ἀθρόως γενομένης,
εἴτε κατὰ τὸν Δίωνα Ῥωμαίοις πορθηθείσης,
Ἀρτέμιδι τῶν πολιτῶν τότε παννυχιζόντων,
τοιουτοτρόπως τέθνηκεν ὑπό τινος Ῥωμαίου.
ἦν κεκυφὼς διάγραμμα μηχανικόν τι γράφων·
τὶς δὲ Ῥωμαῖος ἐπιστὰς εἷλκεν αἰχμαλωτίζων.
ὁ δὲ τοῦ διαγράμματος ὅλος ὑπάρχων τότε,
τίς ὁ καθέλκων οὐκ εἰδὼς ἔλεγε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον,
Ἀπόστηθι, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τοῦ διαγράμματός μου.
ὡς δ' εἷλκε τοῦτον, συστραφεὶς καὶ γνοὺς Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι,
ἐβόα Τὶ μηχάνημά τις τῶν ἐμῶν μοι δότω.
ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος πτοηθεὶς εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνον κτείνει,
ἄνδρα σαθρὸν καὶ γέροντα, δαιμόνιον τοῖς ἔργοις.
ἐθρήνησε δὲ Μάρκελλος τοῦτο μαθὼν εὐθέως,
λαμπρῶς τε τοῦτον ἔκρυψεν ἐν τάφοις τοῖς πατρῴοις

[1] For a more sober account of the military inventions of Archimedes see Polybius, 8. 3-7. Sir Thomas Heath, *Archimedes* (London, 1920), 6, says: "The story that he

same type, which could be adjusted by metal plates and small hinges. This contrivance he set to catch the full rays of the sun at noon, both summer and winter, and eventually, by the reflection of the sun's rays in this, a fearsome fiery heat was kindled in the barges, and from the distance of an arrow's flight he reduced them to ashes. Thus did the old man, by his contrivances,[1] vanquish Marcellus. Again, he used to say, in the Doric speech of Syracuse: "Give me a place to stand and with a lever I will move the whole world." Now when Syracuse was, as Diodorus relates, suddenly betrayed to Marcellus, or according to Dio, sacked by the Romans while the citizens were celebrating a nocturnal festival of Artemis, this man was killed by one of the Romans, under the following circumstances. Engaged in sketching a mechanical diagram, he was bending over it when a Roman came upon him and began to drag him off as a prisoner of war. Archimedes, wholly intent on his diagram and not realizing who was tugging at him, said to the man: "Away from my diagram, fellow!" Then, when the man continued to drag him along, Archimedes turned and, recognizing him for a Roman, cried out: "Quick there, one of my machines, someone!" The Roman, alarmed, slew him on the spot, a weak old man, but one whose achievements were wondrous. As soon as Marcellus learned of this, he was grieved, and together with the noblemen of the city and all the

set the Roman ships on fire by an arrangement of burning-glasses or concave mirrors is not found in any authority earlier than Lucian (second century A.D.); but there is no improbability in the idea that he discovered some form of burning mirror, *e.g.* a paraboloid of revolution, which would reflect to one point all rays falling on its concave surface in a direction parallel to its axis."

σὺν τοῖς ἀρίστοις πολιτῶν καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
πᾶσι.
τὸν δὲ φονέα τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἶμαι, πελέκει κτείνει.
ὁ Δίων καὶ Διόδωρος γράφει τὴν ἱστορίαν.

(Tzetzes, *Hist.* 2. 103-149.)

19. Διόδωρος ὁ ἱστορικὸς τετράπολίν φησι Συρακούσας ἐν οἷς ἀφομοιοῖ Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ὀρέντῃ ταῖς Συρακούσαις.

(Scholiast on Strabo, 6. 2. 4, pp. 429-430 Kramer.[1])

20. Ὅτι τῶν Συρακουσίων μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντησάντων Μαρκέλλῳ μεθ' ἱκετηρίας, τῶν μὲν ἐλευθέρων ἔφη σωμάτων φείσεσθαι,[2] τὰς δὲ κτήσεις ἁπάσας διαρπάσειν.[3]

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 265.)

2 Ὅτι οἱ Συρακούσιοι διὰ πενίαν ἀποροῦντες τροφῆς μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν ἑαυτοὺς ὡμολόγουν εἶναι δούλους, ὅπως πραθέντες τροφῆς μεταλάβωσι παρὰ τῶν ὠνησαμένων. οὕτω τοῖς ἐπταικόσι Συρακουσίοις ἡ τύχη πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀκληρήμασι[4] τηλικαύτην ἐπέστησε συμφορὰν ὥστε ἀντὶ τῆς διδομένης ἐλευθερίας ἑκουσίως αἱρεῖσθαι δουλείαν.

21. Ὅτι Σκιπίων τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀπολύσας ἐπε-

[1] Berlin, 1844–1852. [2] So Herwerden: φείσασθαι P.
[3] So Herwerden: διαρπάσαι P.
[4] So Dindorf: ἀκληρώμασι V.

---

[1] The four sections of the city were the "Island" (Ortygia),

Romans gave him splendid burial amid the tombs of his fathers. As for the murderer, he had him, I fancy, beheaded. Dio and Diodorus record the story.

19. Diodorus the historian, in his comparison of Antioch on the Orontes to Syracuse, says that Syracuse is a tetrapolis.[1]

20. When, after the fall of Syracuse, the inhabitants 212 B.C.
approached Marcellus as suppliants, he ordered that the persons of all who were freeborn were to be spared, but that all their property was to be taken as booty.[2]

Being unable to procure food after the capture 211 B.C.
because of their poverty, the Syracusans agreed to become slaves, so that when sold they might receive food from those who purchased them. Thus Fortune imposed upon the defeated Syracusans, over and above their other losses, a calamity so grievous that in place of proffered freedom they voluntarily chose slavery.[3]

21. By his release of the hostages Scipio[4] de- 209/8 B.C.
monstrated how time and time again the virtue of a

Neapolis, Achradina, and Tyche. Strabo, however, says (270) that Syracuse was "in ancient times" a pentapolis.

[2] Cp. Livy, 25. 25. 6-7. Marcellus seized part of the city in 212 B.C. but completed its capture only in the next year.

[3] Cp. the complaints of the Sicilians preferred against Marcellus in 210 B.C. (Livy, 26. 29-30, especially 26. 30. 9-10).

[4] P. Cornelius Scipio, the great Scipio Africanus, who at the time of his appointment to the command in Spain was only 25 years old. Torn from its context the sense of the present passage is not certain, and the Greek is perhaps corrupt. The hostages are probably Spaniards held by the Carthaginians, whom Scipio released after his capture of Nova Carthago in 209 B.C. By this and other diplomatic acts Scipio won over a number of native princes, whose willingness to recognize him as king the Roman general rebuffed (cp. Polybius, 10. 38 and 40).

δείξατο ὡς πολλάκις ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴ προσέταττε συλλήβδην εἰς ἔθνη βασιλεῖς.

22. Ὅτι ὁ Ἰνδιβέλης ὁ Κελτίβηρ συγγνώμης τυχὼν παρὰ Σκιπίωνος καιρὸν εὑρὼν ἐπιτήδειον πάλιν ἐξέκαυσε πόλεμον. οὕτω γὰρ οἱ τοὺς πονηροὺς εὖ ποιοῦντες πρὸς τῷ τὴν χάριν ἀποβαλεῖν ἀγνοοῦσι πολεμίους ἑαυτῶν πολλάκις σωματοποιοῦντες. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 355-356.)

23. Ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι καταλύσαντες τὸν Λιβυκὸν πόλεμον, τὸ τῶν Μικατανῶν Νομάδων ἔθνος σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις τιμωρησάμενοι πάντας τοὺς συλληφθέντας ἀνεσταύρωσαν. διόπερ οἱ τούτων ἀπόγονοι τῆς εἰς τοὺς πατέρας ὠμότητος ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι χαλεπώτατοι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις πολέμιοι καθεστήκεισαν.

24. Ὅτι οὐκ εἴασε τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν, φημὶ δὴ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου, ἀνεπισήμαντον, ἀλλά φησιν· ἦν γὰρ υἱὸς Ἀμίλκου τοῦ Βάρκα μὲν ἐπικαλουμένου, μεγίστην δὲ δόξαν ἐσχηκότος τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Σικελικῷ πολέμῳ μόνος τῶν ἡγεμόνων πολλάκις ἐνίκησε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον καθελὼν πόλεμον πρῶτος διεβίβασε δύναμιν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν. τοιούτου δ' ὢν πατρὸς οὐκ ἀνάξιον ἑαυτὸν παρείχετο τῆς ἐκείνου δόξης· ὁμολογουμένως γὰρ ἄριστος ἦν στρατηλάτης ἁπάντων Καρχηδονίων μετὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀννίβαν· διὸ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ δυνάμεων Ἀσδρούβαν κατέλιπεν ἡγεμόνα. πολλὰς δὲ μάχας ἀγωνισάμενος κατὰ τὴν

[1] A chieftain of the Ilergeti, a people north of the Ebro, who with his brother Mandonius had come over to the Roman side after the capture of Nova Carthago. For the

single man has been able summarily to impose kings upon nations.

22. Indibeles [1] the Celtiberian, after winning forgiveness from Scipio, again kindled the flames of war when a suitable occasion presented itself. For indeed, those who benefit knaves, in addition to wasting their favours, fail to realize that ofttimes they are actually raising up enemies for themselves. 206 B.C.

23. The Carthaginians, after bringing the Libyan War [2] to an end, had avenged themselves on the Numidian tribe of the Micatani, women and children included, and crucified all whom they captured. As a result their descendants, mindful of the cruelty meted out to their fathers, were firmly established as the fiercest enemies of the Carthaginians.

24. He [3] did not leave unrecorded the great ability of the man (I mean, of course, Hasdrubal), but on the contrary affirms it. For Hasdrubal was the son of Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, the most distinguished man of his time, inasmuch as in the Sicilian War Hamilcar was the only leader who repeatedly defeated the Romans, and after bringing to an end the Civil War,[4] was the first to carry an army across to Spain. As the son of such a father, Hasdrubal proved himself not unworthy of his father's fame. It is generally agreed that next to his brother Hannibal he was the finest general in all Carthage; accordingly Hannibal left him in command of the armies in Spain. He engaged in many battles throughout Spain, con-

revolt see Polybius, 11. 31-33, who calls the chieftain Andobales.

[2] That is, the Mercenary War: cp. above, Book 25. 2-6.

[3] Polybius, whose encomium of Hasdrubal is given in 11. 2.

[4] The Mercenary or Libyan War (Book 25. 2-6), repeatedly called ἐμφύλιος by Polybius.

Ἰβηρίαν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων ἀναλαμβάνων τὰς δυνάμεις πολλοὺς καὶ παντοίους ὑπέμεινε κινδύνους. καὶ εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον ἀποδιωχθεὶς διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν μεγάλην ἤθροισε δύναμιν καὶ παρεγενήθη παρ' ἐλπίδας εἰς Ἰταλίαν.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 265-266.)

2 Ὅτι ὁ Ἀσδρούβας εἰ μὲν καὶ τὴν τύχην ἔσχε συνεπιλαμβανομένην, ὁμολογουμένως οὐκ ἂν ἠδυνήθησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς τοῦτον ἅμα καὶ πρὸς Ἀννίβαν διαγωνίσασθαι. διόπερ χρὴ τὴν ἀρετὴν τἀνδρὸς ἐξετάζειν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς καὶ τόλμης. τούτων μὲν γὰρ συμβαίνει τοὺς πράττοντας εἶναι κυρίους, ἐκείνων δὲ τὴν τύχην ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 356.)

stantly building up his forces after each reverse, and he stood firm in the face of frequent and manifold dangers. Indeed, even after he had been driven back into the interior, his outstanding personal qualities enabled him to bring together a large army, and contrary to all expectations he made his way into 207 B.C.
Italy.[1]

If Hasdrubal had enjoyed the assistance of Fortune as well, it is generally agreed that the Romans could not have carried on the struggle simultaneously against both him and Hannibal. For this reason we should estimate his ability not on the basis of his achievements but of his aims and enterprise. For these qualities are subject to men's control, but the outcome of their actions lies in the hands of Fortune.

[1] Where he met his death at the battle of the Metaurus.

1. Ὅτι Νάβις ὁ τύραννος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνεῖλε Πέλοπα τὸν Λυκούργου μὲν τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος υἱόν, παῖδα δὲ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα· εὐλαβεῖτο γὰρ μή ποτε ὁ παῖς παραγενηθεὶς[1] εἰς ἡλικίαν ἀποκαταστήσῃ τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, πεφρονηματισμένος διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς χαριεστάτους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιλεγόμενος ἀνῄρει καὶ μισθοφόρους πανταχόθεν τοὺς χειρίστους συνήγαγε φύλακας τῆς δυναστείας. διόπερ ἐκ παντὸς τόπου συνέρρεον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἱερόσυλοι, φῶρες, λῃσταί, κατάδικοι θανάτου. ἀσεβῶς γὰρ τὴν τυραννίδα περιποιησάμενος ὑπὸ μόνων τούτων ἤλπιζε βεβαιότατα τηρηθήσεσθαι.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 266.)

2 Ὅτι Νάβις ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τύραννος πολλὰς τιμωρίας ἐπενόησε πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας, νομίζων τῇ τῆς πατρίδος ταπεινώσει τὴν ἰδίαν αὐξήσειν δυναστείαν. ἀνὴρ γάρ, οἶμαι, πονηρὸς τυχὼν ἐξουσίας οὐκ εἴωθε φέρειν τὴν εὐτυχίαν κατ' ἄνθρωπον.

2. Ὢν γὰρ μέγιστος ἱερεὺς ἠναγκάζετο μὴ μα-

[1] παραγενηθεὶς] παραγενόμενος Valesius, Vulgate.

[1] Nabis gained control of Sparta some time after the death of Machanidas at Mantinea in 207 B.C. Of royal blood, he was the most radical of the revolutionaries who arose in Sparta. Despite our uniformly hostile accounts, it is clear that he enjoyed broad popular support. The account is based on Polybius, 13. 6-8.

1. Nabis,[1] the tyrant of Sparta, put to death Pelops, c. 207 B.C.
the son of the late king Lycurgus, who was at this time still a boy. This was a measure of precaution lest when he came of age the youth, emboldened by his noble birth, should some day restore his country's freedom. Nabis personally selected and put to death those Lacedaemonians who were most accomplished, and gathered from all sides hirelings of the basest stamp to defend his régime. As a result temple-robbers, thieves, pirates, and men under sentence of death streamed into Sparta from every direction. For since it was by impious deeds that Nabis had made himself tyrant, he supposed that only by such men could he be most securely guarded.

Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, devised many forms of punishment[2] for the citizens, in the belief that by degrading his country he would enhance his own position. Indeed, when a knave comes to power he is not, I think, likely to bear his good fortune as a mortal should.

2. As *pontifex maximus* he was obliged by reason of 205 B.C.

[2] Including the notorious Image of Apega (named for his wife), an instrument of torture similar to the "Iron Maiden"; cp. Polybius, 13. 7.

κρὰν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποσπᾶσθαι διὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμέλειαν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 356.)

2a. Οὕτω κατὰ τὴν Διοδώρου ἱστορίαν καὶ Σκιπίων ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Σικελιωτῶν προέθηκεν ἢ στρατεύειν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ εἰς Λιβύην ἢ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας[1] παραδοῦναι τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ.

(Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad*, Book 23, p. 1302.[2])

3. Ὅτι Κρῆτες ναυσὶν ἑπτὰ πειρατεύειν ἐπιβαλόμενοι τῶν πλεόντων ἐλῄστευον οὐκ ὀλίγους. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀθυμούντων, Ῥόδιοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τἀδικήματα νομίσαντες ἥξειν πρὸς τοὺς Κρῆτας πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν.

4. Ὅτι Πλημήνιος ὁ κατασταθεὶς Λοκρῶν ἡγεμὼν παρὰ Σκιπίωνος ἀσεβὴς ὢν τοὺς τῆς Φερσεφόνης θησαυροὺς ἀνασπάσας καὶ τὰ χρήματα συλήσας ἀπήνεγκε. τῶν δὲ Λοκρῶν ἀγανακτούντων ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνακαλουμένων πίστιν, δύο τῶν χιλιάρχων μισοπονηρεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασι προσεποιήθησαν. τοῦτο δὲ ἔπραττον οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις ἀγανακτοῦντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ μέρος μὴ εἰληφέναι τῶν σεσυλημένων
2 χρημάτων ἐγκαλοῦντες τῷ Πλημηνίῳ.[3] ταχὺ δ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἅπασιν ἀξίαν τῆς πονηρίας ἐπέθηκε τὸ

[1] οἰκέτας] Dindorf suggests ὁπλισμοὺς (cp. Livy, 29. 1).
[2] Ed. Stallbaum, Leipzig, 1827–1830.
[3] So Valesius: πλημμελημα (*s. acc.*) P, αὐτῷ τὸ πλημμέλημα Wesseling.

[1] This refers to P. Licinius Crassus Dives, who was chosen

his religious duties not to absent himself from the vicinity of Rome.[1]

2a. In like manner Scipio, according to the account of Diodorus, set before the Sicilian aristocrats the choice of joining him in the expedition to Libya or of handing over to his men their horses and slaves.[2]

3. With a fleet of seven ships the Cretans began to engage in piracy, and plundered a number of vessels. This had a disheartening effect upon those who were engaged in commerce by sea, whereupon the Rhodians, reflecting that this lawlessness would affect them also, declared war on the Cretans.

4. Pleminius, whom Scipio had appointed as governor of Locri,[3] tore down the treasure houses of Persephonê, for he was indeed an impious man, and he plundered and carried off their wealth. The Locrians, deeply outraged by this, appealed for protection to the pledged word of the Romans. Moreover, two of the military tribunes affected to be shocked at the offence. Their behaviour, however, was not motivated by any indignation at what was occurring; on the contrary, it was because they had failed to receive their share in the plunder that they now brought charges against Pleminius. Divine Providence speedily inflicted upon one and all the punishment that their wickedness deserved. For

as Scipio's colleague in the consulate for 205 B.C. in order to give Scipio a free hand as military commander. Livy (28. 38. 12) says only that the *pontifex maximus* was restricted to Italy, and, in fact, Crassus was assigned the region of the Bruttii as his province.
[2] Cp. Livy, 29. 1.
[3] After the city had been recovered from the Carthaginians. Q. Pleminius, as *legatus pro praetore* representing Scipio, had led the liberating attack. The story given here is told in greater detail by Livy (29. 8-9 and 16-22).

δαιμόνιον. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἱερῶν τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι λέγεται καὶ διὰ παντὸς
3 ἁγνὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων τετηρῆσθαι. καθ᾽ ὃν γὰρ καιρὸν Πύρρος ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας[1] διεβίβαζε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς[2] Λοκροὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπαιτούμενος τοὺς μισθοὺς ἠναγκάσθη δι᾽ ἀπορίαν ἅψασθαι τῶν χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἔκπλουν ἐπιγενηθῆναι πνεύματά φασιν, ὥστε στόλῳ παντὶ ναυαγῆσαι τοῦτον. τὸν δὲ Πύρρον δεισιδαιμονήσαντα τὴν θεὸν ἐξιλάσασθαι καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἀπελθεῖν ἕως ἀπεκατέστησε τὰ χρήματα.

4 Οἱ δὲ χιλίαρχοι προσποιούμενοι μισοπονηρεῖν προΐσταντο τῶν Λοκρῶν καὶ τὸν Πλημήνιον κακῶς ἔλεγον καὶ δίκην ἐπιθήσειν ἠπείλουν. τέλος ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς λοιδορίας προβαινούσης εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον. οἱ δὲ χιλίαρχοι τοῦτον δόντες[3] ἐπὶ γῆν τά τε ὦτα περιέτραγον[4] αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ῥῖνα, πρὸς δὲ
5 τούτοις καὶ τὰ χείλη διέσχισαν. ὁ δὲ Πλημήνιος συλλαβὼν τοὺς χιλιάρχους καὶ δειναῖς αἰκίαις περιβαλὼν διέφθειρεν. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν οὐ μετρίως ἐδεισιδαιμόνει· οἱ δὲ ἀντιπολιτευόμενοι τῷ Σκιπίωνι καιρὸν εὑρόντες οἰκεῖον διαβολῆς κατηγόρουν αὐτοῦ, λέγοντες ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης ἅπαντα πέπραχεν ὁ[5] Πλη-
6 μήνιος. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς ἀγορανόμον καὶ δύο δημάρχους, εἰ μὲν εὕρωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Σκιπίωνος γνώμης γεγενημένην τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν, κατὰ τάχος ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐᾶν αὐτὸν διαβιβάζειν τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν

[1] So Valesius: Ἰταλίας P.
[2] εἰς added by Salmasius, Valesius.

indeed this temple of Persephonê is said to be the most renowned in all Italy and to have been kept inviolate by the men of the land at all times. So, for example, when Pyrrhus brought over his forces from Sicily to Locri and, faced with his soldiers' demand for pay, was driven by lack of funds to lay hand on the treasures, it is said that such a tempest arose as he was putting out again to sea that he and all his fleet suffered shipwreck; Pyrrhus, smitten with fear and awe, thereupon made propitiation to the goddess, and delayed his departure until he had restored the treasures.

The tribunes, to resume, with a pretence of righteous indignation now stood forth as champions of the Locrians, and began to inveigh against Pleminius and threaten to bring him to justice. The railings growing apace, they finally came to blows, and the tribunes, having knocked him to the ground, bit off his ears and nose and split open his lips. Pleminius put the tribunes under arrest, subjected them to severe torture, and did away with them. The religious fears of the Roman senate were strongly aroused by the pillaging of the temple; moreover, the political opponents of Scipio, having found a suitable occasion for discrediting him, charged that Pleminius had acted throughout in accordance with his wishes. The senate sent out an aedile and two 204 B.C.
tribunes of the people as commissioners, with orders to bring Scipio post-haste back to Rome if they should find that the sacrilege had been committed with his approval; otherwise, they were to allow

[3] καταβαλόντες Herwerden.
[4] So Hertlein: περιέτρογον P, περιέτρωγον edd.
[5] πέπραχεν ὁ] So Dindorf (after Reiske): πεπραχέναι P.

Λιβύην. τούτων δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὄντων, ὁ Σκιπίων μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Πλημήνιον ἔδησεν εἰς ἅλυσιν καὶ περὶ τὴν γυμνασίαν ἦν τῶν δυνάμεων.

7 οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι ταῦτα θαυμάσαντες ἐπῄνεσαν τὸν Σκιπίωνα. εἰς δὲ Ῥώμην ἀπαχθέντος τοῦ Πλημηνίου, τοῦτον ἡ σύγκλητος εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπέθετο, καθ' ἣν αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι συνέβη· τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ καθιέρωσε καὶ τὰ προσελλείποντα τῶν ἱεροσυληθέντων χρημάτων ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου προσθεῖσα τῇ θεῷ καθιέρωσεν. ἐψηφίσατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς ἔχοντάς τι τῶν τῆς Φέρσεως[1] χρημάτων, ἐὰν μὴ καταθῶσιν, ἐνόχους εἶναι θανάτου.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 266-267.)

8 Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ ψηφισθῆναι τὰ κατὰ Πλημήνιον φιλοφρονοῦντες τοὺς Λοκροὺς οἱ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἡρπακότες καὶ θεωροῦντες τὴν τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ τοῦ Πλημηνίου τιμωρίαν ἐπὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐνέπιπτον. οὕτως ὁ συνειδώς τι φαῦλον ἑαυτῷ σιωπωμένην ἀναδέχεται τιμωρίαν, κἂν τύχῃ διαλεληθὼς τοὺς ἄλλους. διὸ ποινηλατούμενοι τὰς ψυχὰς τὸ θεῖον ἐξιλασκόμενοι ἐρρίπτουν τὰ χρήματα.

[1] τῶν τῆς Φέρσεως Büttner-Wobst: τῆς Φέρσεως P, τῶν Φέρσεως (or Φερσεφάττης) Valesius, τῶν τῆς Φερσεφόνης Dindorf[4].

him to transport his armies to Libya. While the commissioners were yet on the way, Scipio summoned Pleminius, put him in chains, and busied himself with training his army. The tribunes of the people were amazed at this,[1] and praised Scipio. As for Pleminius, he was taken back to Rome, placed in custody by the senate, and, while still in prison, died; the senate confiscated his property and, after making up from the public treasury any deficiency in what had been stolen from the temple, dedicated it to the goddess. It was also decreed that the Locrians should be free, and that any soldiers possessing property belonging to Phersis[2] should, if they failed to restore it, be liable to death.

After these measures concerning the Pleminius affair had been voted as a gesture of goodwill towards the Locrians,[3] the men who had stolen most of the votive offerings and who now perceived the retribution which had befallen the tribunes and Pleminius fell a prey to superstitious fears. Such is the punishment that one who is conscious of wrongdoing suffers in secret, even though he succeed in hiding his guilt from other mortals. So now these men, tortured in spirit, cast away their plunder in an effort to appease the gods.

[1] Rumour had it that Scipio's behaviour was "un-Roman" and that he had allowed military discipline to relax: cp. Livy, 29. 19. 10-13 and 29. 22. 1-6.

[2] Phersis is probably an authentic form of the divine name: cp. F. Altheim, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 27 (1929), 45.

[3] This is the probable sense of the passage, which seems to have suffered excessive and inexpert condensation. As it stands in the Greek, the phrase "being well disposed towards the Locrians," is made to agree with "the men who had stolen."

5. Ὅτι τὸ ψεῦδος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις τιθέμενον καιροῖς ἐνίοτε γίνεται μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 356.)

6. Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων παραγενηθέντων πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν περὶ Σόφακα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἰδὼν τὸν ἄνδρα δεδεμένον ἐδάκρυσε, λογιζόμενος τὴν πάλαι ποτὲ μακαριζομένην αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον κρίνας ἀνθρώπινα φρονεῖν ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν ἐπέταξεν αὐτὸν λῦσαι καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν σκηνὴν ἀπέδωκε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀκολουθίαν ἔχειν συνεχώρησε· τηρῶν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν[1] ἐλευθέρᾳ[2] φυλακῇ φιλανθρώπως ὡμίλει καὶ πολλάκις ἐπὶ δεῖπνα παρελαμβάνετο. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 267-268.)

2 Ὅτι Σκιπίων τὸν Σόφακα τὸν βασιλέα αἰχμάλωτον λαβὼν καὶ δεδεμένον λύσας φιλανθρώπως ὡμίλει αὐτόν[3]· ᾤετο γὰρ δεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἔχθραν μέχρι τοῦ νικᾶν φυλάττειν, εἰς δὲ τύχην αἰχμάλωτον ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως γεγονότος μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα· ἐφορᾷ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον νέμεσίς τις θεοῦ, ἣ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον φρονοῦντας ταχὺ τῆς ἰδίας ἀσθενείας[4] ὑπομιμνήσκει. διὸ καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπαινέσειε θεωρῶν πρὸς τὸν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων φόβον καταπληκτικὸν γενόμενον, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πρὸς

[1] ἐν added by Salmasius, Valesius.
[2] So Dindorf: ἐλευθερίᾳ P.
[3] αὐτῷ Dindorf.
[4] So Dindorf: ἀσεβείας V.

5. A lie told in the proper circumstances is sometimes productive of great benefits.[1]

6. When Syphax[2] and the others were brought before him in chains, Scipio promptly burst into tears at the sight, as he thought of the man's former prosperity and kingly state. After a short time, in keeping with his resolve to practise moderation even in the midst of success, he ordered Syphax to be loosed from his bonds, gave him back his tent, and allowed him to retain his retinue. While still holding him prisoner, though in free custody,[3] he treated him with kindness and frequently invited him to his table. 203 B.C.

Scipio, having taken King Syphax prisoner, released him from his bonds and treated him with kindness.[4] The personal enmities of war should, he felt, be maintained up to the point of victory, but since a prisoner's lot had now befallen one of royal rank, he himself, being but human, should do nothing amiss. For there is, it would seem, a divine Nemesis that keeps watch over the life of man and swiftly reminds those whose presumption passes mortal bounds of their own weakness. Who then, with an eye to the fear and terror that Scipio inspired in the enemy, while his own heart was overcome by pity

[1] This may refer to Scipio's false representations to his troops that Syphax had requested Roman aid in Libya; cp. Livy, 29. 24. 4-7.
[2] King of the Masaesyli in western Numidia. Though earlier at odds with Carthage, he later became her ally and was a determined opponent of the Romans.
[3] The *libera custodia* of the Romans: see note in Vol. II, p. 487.
[4] This sentence is apparently the excerptor's summary of the preceding fragment. The rest of the excerpt probably followed without a gap.

τοὺς ἠτυχηκότας ἐλέου τὴν ψυχὴν ἡττώμενον; ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ γάρ[1] εἰώθασιν οἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιταττομένους φοβεροὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑποπεσόντας ὑπάρχειν μέτριοι. διὸ καὶ ταχὺ τοῦ Σόφακος ὁ Σκιπίων τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιεικείας ἐκομίσατο χάριν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 356-357.)

7. Ὅτι Σοφόνβα ἡ πρότερον μὲν Μασανάσσῃ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνοικήσασα Σόφακι, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πάλιν εἰς συμβίωσιν[2] ἐλθοῦσα διὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν[3] τῷ Μασανάσσῃ τήν τε ὄψιν ἦν εὐπρεπὴς καὶ τοῖς τρόποις ποικίλη καὶ πᾶν ἐξομηρεύσασθαι δυναμένη. οὖσα δὲ Καρχηδονίων συμμαχὶς[4] προσέκειτο λιπαροῦσα καὶ δεομένη καθ' ἡμέραν τἀνδρὸς ὅπως ἀποστῇ Ῥώμης· ἦν γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ δεινῶς φιλόπατρις. ἃ δὴ γινώσκων ὁ Σόφαξ ἐδήλωσε τῷ Σκιπίωνι περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ παρεκελεύσατο φυλάττεσθαι. τούτοις δὲ σύμφωνα καὶ Λαιλίου λέγοντος, ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκέλευσεν ἄγειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τὴν γυναῖκα. παραιτουμένου δὲ τοῦ Μασανάσσου,[5] πικρότερον ἐπέπληξεν. ὁ δὲ εὐλαβηθεὶς ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς παραληψομένους· αὐτὸς δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν φάρμακον θανάσιμον τῇ γυναικὶ δοὺς[6] πιεῖν ἠνάγκασε.

8. Ὅτι Σκιπίων διὰ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπταικότας

[1] Büttner-Wobst suggests the addition of οὐκ after γάρ.
[2] So Valesius: σύμβασιν P.

for the unfortunate, could fail to praise such a man? It is generally true, in fact, that men dreaded by their opponents in combat are apt to behave with moderation towards the defeated. So on this occasion Scipio soon won from Syphax gratitude for his considerate treatment.

7. Sophonba,[1] who was the wife first of Masinissa, then of Syphax, and who finally, as a result of her captivity, was reunited with Masinissa, was comely in appearance, a woman of many varied moods, and one gifted with the ability to bind men to her service. As a partisan of the Carthaginian cause she daily urged and entreated her husband with great importunity to revolt from Rome, for she was, indeed, deeply devoted to her country. Now Syphax knew this and informed Scipio about the woman, urging him to be on his guard. Since this tallied with the advice of Laelius as well, Scipio ordered her brought before him, and when Masinissa attempted to intercede, rebuked him sharply. Warily, Masinissa then bade him send his men to fetch her, but went himself to her tent, handed his wife a deadly potion, and forced her to drink it.

8. By his compassion towards those who had

[1] The daughter of Hasdrubal Gisgo, elsewhere called Sophoniba or Sophonisba. According to Zonaras (9. 11) she was betrothed to Masinissa but then, for reasons of state, married to Syphax. Livy (30. 12. 11) implies that she first met Masinissa when he took her prisoner at Cirta. For the story of her death see Livy, 30. 13. 8–15. 8.

[3] τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν] So Vulgate: τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ed. Büttner-Wobst.
[4] So Vulgate: συμμαχὸς ed. Büttner-Wobst.
[5] So Valesius (Μασσ-): Μασανάσσῃ P.
[6] δοὺς (διδοὺς Salmasius) added by Dindorf.

ἔλεον βεβαίαν ἔσχε τὴν Μασανάσσου συμμαχίαν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον.

9. Ὅτι Ἀννίβας συγκαλεσάμενος τοὺς συμμάχους ἐδήλωσεν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν αὐτὸν διαβῆναι εἰς Λιβύην, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν τοῖς βουλομένοις αὐτῷ συστρατεύειν. ἔνιοι μὲν εἵλαντο τὴν μετ'[1] Ἀννίβου διάβασιν, τοῖς δ' ἐχομένοις[2] τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ μονῆς περιστήσας τὴν δύναμιν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν, εἴ τινα βούλοιντο λαμβάνειν ἐξ αὐτῶν δοῦλον· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατέσφαξεν, ἄνδρας μὲν περὶ δισμυρίους, ἵππους[3] δὲ περὶ τρισχιλίους καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀναρίθμητον πλῆθος.

10. Ὅτι αὐτόμολοι ἦλθον πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἱππεῖς τετρακισχίλιοι. οὗτοι δὲ τοῦ Σόφακος πταίσαντος πρὸς Μασανάσσην ἦσαν ἀφεστηκότες. ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς αὐτοῖς περιέστησε τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πάντας κατακοντίσας διέδωκε τοὺς ἵππους τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατιώταις. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 268-269.)

11. Ὅτι οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι[4] σιτοδείας ἐμπεσούσης οἱ καχέκται τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντες λῦσαι τὴν εἰρήνην προετρέψαντο τὸν δῆμον ἐπιπλεῦσαι ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ τὸν σῖτον εἰς λιμένα κομίσαι. τῆς δὲ

[1] μετ' added by Valesius.
[2] So Büttner-Wobst: δὲ ἡδομένοις P, ἡδομένοις τῇ . . . μονῇ Reiske, ἑλομένοις τὴν . . . μονὴν Hertlein.
[3] So Dindorf (cp. Appian, *Hann.* 59): ἱππεῖς P.
[4] τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις Dindorf.

[1] Livy, 30. 15. 9-12, describes his efforts to console the impetuous Masinissa. Masinissa, now in his mid-thirties,

blundered,[1] Scipio rendered the alliance with Masinissa secure ever after.

9. Hannibal, having called together his allies, told them that it was now necessary for him to cross over into Libya, and offered any who might wish it his permission to accompany him. Some chose to cross with Hannibal; those, however, who were set on remaining in Italy he encircled with his army, and having first given his soldiers leave to take anyone they wished as a slave, he then slaughtered the rest, some twenty thousand men, as well as three thousand horses and innumerable pack animals.[2]

10. Four thousand cavalry, men who after the defeat of Syphax had gone over to Masinissa, now deserted to Hannibal. In an access of anger, Hannibal encircled them with his army, shot them all down, and distributed their horses to his own soldiers.[3]

11. Carthage being hard pressed for food, those citizens who were disgruntled and desired the abrogation of the treaty of peace[4] incited the populace to attack the ships and bring into port the cargo of provisions. And though the senate forbade them to

was to remain the loyal friend of Rome and the implacable foe of Carthage till his death in 149 B.C. As king of Massylian or eastern Numidia, he was the hereditary enemy of his neighbour Syphax.

[2] Cp. Livy, 30. 20, and Appian, *Hann.* 59. The story of the massacre is probably fictitious, or at least grossly exaggerated.

[3] Cp. Appian, *Pun.* 33.

[4] The treaty was dictated by Scipio and accepted by Carthage in the autumn of 203 B.C. While the peace terms were being ratified in Rome, Hannibal returned to Africa, followed by Mago. The peace party in Carthage was then overthrown, and the attack on the Roman supply ships anchored in the Gulf of Tunes was the signal for a renewal of hostilities.

γερουσίας οὐκ ἐώσης λῦσαι τὰς συνθήκας οὐδεὶς ἐπήκουσε· τὴν γὰρ κοιλίαν ἔφασκον οὐκ ἔχειν ὦτα

2 Τὸ *κακὸν ἀγαθοῦ παρείχετο φαντασίαν.*[1]

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 357.)

12. Ὅτι *Σκιπίων ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πρέσβεις, οἱ δὲ ὄχλοι παρ' ὀλίγον αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖλον. οἱ δὲ συνέσει διαφέροντες τούτους ἐξήρπασαν καὶ μετὰ τριήρων ἐξέπεμψαν. οἱ δὲ δημοκοποῦντες ἐν Καρχηδόνι τὸν ναύαρχον παρεκελεύσαντο, ὅταν αἱ παραπέμψασαι τριήρεις ἀναστρέψωσιν, ἐπιπλεῦσαι τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς καὶ πάντας κατασφάξαι. ὃ καὶ γέγονεν· οἱ δὲ καταφυγόντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν διεσώθησαν πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα. τὸ δὲ θεῖον τοῖς ἀσεβῆσαι βουλομένοις ταχέως ἐνεδείξατο τὴν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν. οἱ γὰρ εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποσταλέντες πρεσβευταὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀναστρέφοντες ὑπὸ χειμῶνος κατηνέχθησαν εἰς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ναύσταθμον.*[2] *ὧν ἀναχθέντων ἐπὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα καὶ πάντων βοώντων ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς, ὁ Σκιπίων οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν πράττειν ἃ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐγκαλοῦσιν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀφεθέντες διεσώθησαν εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα, θαυμάζοντες τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐσέβειαν.*

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 269.)

2 Ὅτι *τῶν Καρχηδονίων προημαρτηκότων εἰς Ῥωμαίους, ὑπὸ χειμῶνος δὲ ἀναχθέντων ποτὲ πρὸς Σκιπίωνα καὶ πάντων βοώντων ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς*

[1] This passage is followed in V by another version of

violate the agreement, no one paid heed: "Bellies," they said, "have no ears."

Wrongdoing bore the semblance of right.

12. Scipio sent envoys to the Carthaginians,[1] and the mob all but put them to death. Men of wiser counsel, however, rescued them and sent them off with an escort of triremes. But the leaders of the mob at Carthage urged the admiral[2] to attack the envoys at sea after the escorting triremes turned back, and to kill them all. The attack took place, but the envoys managed to escape to the shore, and made their way safely back to Scipio. The gods swiftly made manifest their power to the wilful sinners. For the Carthaginian envoys who had been sent to Rome were driven by a storm on their return voyage to the very place where the Romans lay at anchor; and when they had been brought before Scipio there was a general outcry to retaliate on the oath-breakers. Scipio, however, declared that they must not commit the very crimes of which they were accusing the Carthaginians. Accordingly the men were released and made their way in safety to Carthage, marvelling at the piety of the Romans.

The Carthaginians, having previously wronged the Romans, were on a certain occasion driven by a storm into the hands of Scipio. Though there was a general outcry to retaliate on the oath-breakers, Scipio

[1] To demand redress for the attack on the ships: cp. Polybius, 15. 1-2; Livy, 30. 25; Appian, *Pun.* 34-35.

[2] Hasdrubal, whose fleet was stationed near Utica: cp. Polybius, 15. 2.

---

chap. 11. 1: *ὅτι τῶν καχεκτῶν ἐπιθυμούντων λῦσαι τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τῆς γερουσίας οὐκ ἐώσης λῦσαι τὰς συνθήκας οὐδεὶς ὑπήκουσε· τὴν γὰρ κοιλίαν ἔφασκον οὐκ ἔχειν ὦτα.*

[2] So Salmasius, Valesius: *ἄσταθμον* P.

ἀσεβεῖς, ὁ Σκιπίων οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν πράττειν ἃ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐγκαλοῦσιν.

13. Ὅτι τὰ μὲν καλὰ πεῖσαι πάντων, οἶμαι, δυσχερέστατόν ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ πρὸς χάριν λόγος δεινὸς παραστῆσαι φαντασίαν τοῦ[1] συμφέροντος, κἂν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ λέγηται τῶν βουλευομένων.

14. Ἀλλ' οὐ καλὸν τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις ἅπαντας νικᾶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς[2] ἀκληροῦντας ὀργῆς ἡττᾶσθαι, καὶ πικρότατα μισοῦντας τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον φρονοῦντας, ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις αὐτοὺς ταῦτα πράττειν ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλοῦντες τυγχάνουσι. τότε γὰρ ἀληθὴς κλῆρός ἐστιν ἡ δόξα τῶν εὐτυχηκότων, ὅταν ὁ κρατῶν τὴν εὐτυχίαν φέρῃ κατ' ἄνθρωπον. ἐπιφθέγγεται γὰρ ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων μνείᾳ διότι τῆς νίκης ὑπάρχουσιν ἄξιοι, τοῖς δὲ ἐπιλαθομένοις τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ὁ φθόνος ἀντικάθηται λυμαινόμενος τὴν τῶν εὐτυχούντων δόξαν. οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι μέγα[3] τὸν ἑκουσίως ὑποπίπτοντα φονεύειν οὐδὲ θαυμαστὸν ἀφανίσαι τὸν τῶν ἠτυχηκότων βίον. οὐκ ἀλόγως γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι τυγχάνουσιν ἀδοξίας, ὅταν τὰς κοινὰς τῶν ἀκληρούντων καταφυγὰς ἀναιρῶσι, τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας ἐπιλαθόμενοι.

15. Ὅτι προτερεῖ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τῆς μὲν τιμωρίας εὐεργεσία, τῆς δὲ ὠμότητος ἡ[4] πρὸς τοὺς ἐπταικότας ἐπιείκεια.

2 Ὅτι ὅσῳ τις εὐροοῦσαν ἔχει τὴν τύχην, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον εὐλαβεῖσθαι χρὴ τὴν τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἐπισκοποῦσαν νέμεσιν.

[1] τοῦ added by Herwerden. [2] τοὺς added by Herwerden.
[3] οὐδὲν . . . μέγα Dindorf: οὐδὲ . . . μετὰ V.
[4] τοὺς after ἡ deleted by Mai.

declared that they must not commit the very crimes of which they were accusing the Carthaginians.

13. To persuade men to a noble course of action is, in my opinion, of all things the most difficult, whereas words designed to please have wondrous power to suggest a semblance of advantage, even though they lead to the ruin of those who adopt such counsel.[1]

14. There is no honour in conquering the world by force of arms only to be overcome by anger directed against hapless wretches; nor yet in nursing a bitter hatred against the overweening if in prosperity we do the very things ourselves for which we blame others. Glory is the true portion of those who win success only when the conqueror bears his good fortune with moderation. When such men are mentioned everyone remarks that they are worthy of their laurels, but envy dogs those who forget their common mortality, and taints the glory of their success. It is no great thing to slay the suppliant at one's feet, no wondrous exploit to destroy the life of a defeated enemy. Not without reason do men win an ill repute when unmindful of the frailty of all things human they abolish the refuge that is the common privilege of all unfortunates.

15. An act of kindness avails men more than revenge, and gentle treatment of a fallen foe more than savage cruelty.

The more favourable the tide of fortune, the more one must beware of the Nemesis that watches over the life of man.

[1] This and the following excerpts seem to be derived from the speeches of various parties in the Roman senate, and perhaps in part from those of the Carthaginian envoys. Cp. in general the debate at Syracuse in 413 B.C. over the Athenian prisoners (Book 13. 20 ff.).

3 Ὅτι οὐδὲν παρὰ ἀνθρώποις οὔτε κακὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν ἑστηκυῖαν ἔχει τὴν τάξιν, τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες πάντα μετακινούσης. διὸ καὶ προσήκει τὸ πολὺ φρόνημα κατατιθεμένους ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἀκληρήμασι[1] τὸν ἴδιον ἐξασφαλίζεσθαι βίον· ὁ γὰρ τοῖς ἐπταικόσιν ἐπιεικῶς χρησάμενος δικαιοτάτης ἂν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βίου μεταβολαῖς τύχοι πολυωρίας. παρὰ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐκτὸς εἴωθε τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀείμνηστος ἐπακολουθεῖν ἔπαινος, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσιν ἡ κατ' ἀξίαν τῆς εὐεργεσίας φυλάττεσθαι χάρις. καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀλλοτριώτατός τις ὢν ἐλέου τύχῃ, μεταβάλλει διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν καὶ ταχὺ γίνεται φίλος, ἑαυτῷ μεμφόμενος.

16. Ὅτι δεῖ παρὰ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι τὰς μὲν φιλίας ἀθανάτους ὑπάρχειν, τὰς δὲ ἔχθρας εἶναι θνητάς. οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα τοὺς μὲν εὐνοοῦντας συμβήσεται πλείστους γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλοτρίως διακειμένους ἐλάττους.

2 Ὅτι τοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένους τῶν ἄλλων οὐχ οὕτω τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπερέχειν ἀναγκαῖον ὡς ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ μετριότητι δεῖ νικᾶν ἅπαντας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ κρατεῖσθαι φόβος μισεῖσθαι ποιεῖ τοὺς κρατοῦντας, ἡ δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἡττωμένους[2] εὐγνωμοσύνη τῆς εὐνοίας αἰτία γινομένη βεβαίως συνέξει[3] τὰς ἡγεμονίας. διόπερ ἐφ' ὅσον προνοούμεθα τῆς πατρίδος, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εὐλαβητέον ἀνήκεστόν τι καὶ σκληρὸν πρᾶξαι κατὰ τῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἑκουσίως παραδιδόντων. πᾶς γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ὑπερβαλλούσαις συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντας ἐλεεῖ, κἂν μηδὲν προσήκωσι, τοὺς δὲ

[1] So Dindorf: ἀκληρώμασι V.
[2] τοῦ κρατεῖσθαι after ἡττωμένους deleted by Dindorf.
[3] συνέχει Dindorf.

In the affairs of men nothing remains stable, neither the good nor the ill, since Fortune, as if of set purpose, keeps all things in constant change. It becomes us, therefore, to put aside our high conceits, and profit by the misfortunes of others to make our own lives secure; for the man who has used the fallen gently most richly deserves whatever consideration he himself meets in the vicissitudes of life. Undying praise commonly attends such men even from those not affected, and those who have actually received the favour cherish a feeling of gratitude such as it merits. Even a bitter enemy, in fact, if he find mercy, is transformed by the act of kindness, and straightway becomes a friend as he sees his own fault.

16. The intelligent man should see to it that his friendships are immortal, his enmities mortal. Thus most surely will it ensue that his friends will be legion, while those who are ill disposed will be fewer in number.

It is less essential that men who aspire to exercise authority should be superior to their fellows in other respects than that they should altogether surpass them in clemency and moderation. For whereas the fear engendered by conquest makes the conquerors an object of hatred, consideration for the defeated is productive of goodwill, and will be a stable bond of empire. It follows from this that the greater our concern for the future welfare of our country, the more we must beware of taking some harsh and irremediable action against those who have made voluntary submission to us. For everyone pities those who have succumbed to overwhelming misfortunes, even though there be no personal bond, and everyone hates

ὑπερηφάνως ταῖς εὐτυχίαις χρωμένους μισεῖ, κἂν τύχωσιν ὄντες σύμμαχοι· ἀνάγει γάρ, οἶμαι, τὸ πραχθὲν ἕκαστος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ συναγανακτεῖ τοῖς ἠκληρηκόσι, φθονῶν ταῖς τῶν κατορθωσάντων εὐπραξίαις.

17. Ὅτι ὅταν πόλις ἐπισημοτάτη πασῶν οὕτως ἀνηλεῶς ἀναρπασθῇ, τότε δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ περὶ τούτων ὑπόληψις διὰ πάσης ἔρχεται τῆς οἰκουμένης. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως τοὺς εὖ πράξαντας ἅπαντες ἐπαινοῦσιν ὡς τοὺς ἀνημέρως χρησαμένους τοῖς ὑποπεσοῦσιν ὁμολογουμένως μισοῦσιν.

2 Ὅτι τὴν διδομένην εὐτυχίαν παρὰ θεοῦ μὴ φέρειν ἀνθρωπίνως πολλῶν κακῶν εἴωθεν αἴτιον γίνεσθαι.

3 Ὅτι τοῖς τὴν τύχην μὴ φέρουσι κατ' ἄνθρωπον ἱκανὴ πᾶσα πρόφασις ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μεταβαλεῖν. ὁρᾶτε οὖν μήποτε τοὺς ἀπεγνωσμένους ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι ποιήσωμεν. καὶ γὰρ τὰ δειλότατα τῶν ζῴων ἔχοντα μὲν ἀναστροφὴν φεύγει, συγκλεισθέντα δὲ εἰς στενὸν τόπον ἀπίστως ἀγωνίζεται· καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς μὲν ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχοντες ὑποχωροῦσιν, ἀπογνόντες δὲ πᾶν τὸ δεινὸν ὑπομενοῦσιν[1] ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. ὅταν γὰρ καὶ φεύγουσι καὶ μαχομένοις ὑποκείμενον ᾖ τελευτᾶν, ὁ μετὰ δόξης θάνατος τοῦ μετ' αἰσχύνης[2] αἱρετώτερος κριθήσεται παρ' αὐτοῖς.

4 Ὅτι ὁ βίος πολλὰ ἔχει παράδοξα. δυστυχοῦντας μὲν οὖν παραβάλλεσθαι χρὴ καὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις θηρᾶσθαι τὴν παραβολήν.[3] οὐ[4] καλὸν δὲ

[1] So Herwerden: ὑπομένουσιν V.
[2] ζῆν after αἰσχύνης deleted by Dindorf.
[3] μεταβολήν Bekker, Dindorf[4].
[4] οὐ added by Herwerden.

those who make arrogant use of good fortune, even though they be allies. Each of us, I suppose, regards whatever is done as though it were done to him; he shares the resentment of the unfortunate, and begrudges the prosperity of the successful.

17. Whenever a city of the highest renown is thus pitilessly ravaged, then indeed do the current notions about these people[1] spread even more readily throughout the world, since men are never so ready to agree in praising noble actions as to join with one accord in hating those who behave savagely towards a fallen foe.

The failure to carry with due moderation whatever good fortune the gods grant usually produces many ill consequences.

Any occasion whatsoever is sufficient to prompt a change for the worse when men are unable to carry their good fortune with due moderation. Be warned, then, and see to it that we do not force these men, made desperate, into a display of bravery. Why, even the most cowardly beasts, which turn and run if a way be open, put up an incredible struggle when cornered; in like manner the Carthaginians continue to give way as long as they retain some hopes of safety, but once driven to desperation will stand and face any possible danger in battle. If death lies in store for them whether they flee or fight, death with honour will seem to them preferable to death and disgrace.

Life is full of the unexpected. In times of misfortune, therefore, men should take risks and pursue their venture even at great peril. But when the

[1] Probably the Romans, though the word could also be neuter, "these matters."

τὴν τύχην εὐροοῦσαν ἔχοντας[1] αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ παράβολον διδόναι.

5 Ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἡγεῖσθαι δυνάμεως[2] τῶν ἐκτὸς δυναστείας λαχὼν ἑτέροις ἑκουσίως ἐκχωρεῖ.

18. Ὅτι ἀτυχίαν ἀδικίας πλεῖστον ἡγοῦμαι διαφέρειν καὶ δεῖν ἑκατέρῳ τούτων οἰκείως προσφέρεσθαι· ταῦτα γάρ ἐστιν εὖ βουλευομένων ἀνδρῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πταίσας ἐν τῷ μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν μέγα δικαίως ἂν καταφύγοι πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν τοῖς ἀκληροῦσιν ἔλεον, ὁ δὲ μέγιστα ἀσεβήσας καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἄρρητα πρὸς ὕβριν καὶ ὠμότητα πράξας αὐτὸς αὑτὸν ἀπέστησε τοιαύτης φιλανθρωπίας· οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν τὸν[3] εἰς ἑτέρους ὠμὸν γενόμενον ἐν μέρει πταίσαντα τυγχάνειν ἐλέους, οὐδὲ τὸν οἶκτον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν μέρος ἄραντα καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιείκειαν. δίκαιον γάρ ἐστιν, ὃν καθ' ἑτέρων τις νόμον ἔθηκε, τούτῳ κεχρῆσθαι.

2 Ὅτι ὁ τοὺς κοινοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων τιμωρησάμενος δῆλον ὡς κοινὸς ἂν εὐεργέτης νομίζοιτο, καὶ καθάπερ οἱ τὰ δεινότερα τῶν θηρίων ἀναιροῦντες ὡς εὖ ποιοῦντες τὸν κοινὸν βίον ἐπαίνου τυγχάνουσιν, οὕτως οἱ τὴν Καρχηδονίων ὠμότητα καὶ τὸ θηριῶδες τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος κολάσαντες ὁμολογουμένως τεύξονται τῆς μεγίστης δόξης.

[1] εὐροοῦσαν ἔχοντας Wurm: εὐθὺς ἀνέχοντας V.
[2] δυνάμεως] δυνάμενος Wurm.

stream of fortune flows smoothly, it is not well to put oneself in jeopardy.

No one who has won control over a foreign people willingly resigns to others the command of his army.[1]

18. There is a vast difference, to my mind, between misfortune and misdoing, and we should deal with each of them in the way that is appropriate to it, as befits men of wise counsel. So, for example, a man who has blundered but yet has committed no great wrong may justly take refuge in the compassion that is extended to all unfortunates. On the other hand, the man who has sinned deeply and who has perpetrated deeds of violence and brutality that are, as they say, "unutterable," puts himself wholly beyond the pale of such human feelings. It is impossible that one who has proved cruel towards others should meet with compassion when he in turn blunders and falls, or that one who has done all in his power to abolish pity among men should find refuge in the moderation of others. To apply to each the law that he has set for others is no more than just.

One who in the name of the whole people has exacted vengeance from the common foe may, quite clearly, be considered a public benefactor. Just as those who destroy the more dangerous beasts win praise for contributing to the welfare of all, so now those who have curbed the savage cruelty of the Carthaginians and the bestial strain in humanity will by common consent gain the highest renown.

[1] The text is difficult and possibly corrupt. The passage may refer to Scipio's reluctance to see another conclude the peace that he had won (cp. Livy, 30. 36. 11).

[3] τὸν added here by Madvig, and deleted after γενόμενον (below).

3 Ὅτι τότε ἕκαστος ἀνδρείως ὑπομένει τὸν κίνδυνον ὅτε[1] ἡ τοῦ νικᾶν ἐλπίς ἐστιν ὑποκειμένη· ὁ δὲ προειδὼς ἑαυτὸν ἡττηθησόμενον ἐν τῷ δρασμῷ καὶ φυγῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔχει κειμένην.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 357-360.)

Everyone faces danger bravely when the hope of victory is well founded, but for one who knows in advance that he will be defeated safety lies only in flight and escape.

[1] So Dindorf: ὅταν V.

1. Ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Δικαίαρχον τὸν Αἰτωλόν, ἄνδρα τολμηρόν, πείσας πειρατεύειν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ[1] ναῦς εἴκοσι· προσέταξε δὲ τὰς μὲν νήσους φορολογεῖν, τοῖς δὲ Κρησὶ παραβοηθεῖν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ῥοδίους πολέμῳ. οὗτος[2] δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοὺς μὲν ἐμπόρους ἐλῄστευε, τὰς δὲ νήσους λεηλατῶν ἀργύριον εἰσεπράττετο.

2. Ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Ἡρακλείδην τινὰ Ταραντῖνον εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, πονηρὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃς κατ' ἰδίαν αὐτῷ λαλῶν πολλὰς καὶ ψευδεῖς διαβολὰς τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι κειμένων φίλων ἔλεγε· τέλος δὲ εἰς τοῦτο ἦλθεν ἀσεβείας ὥστε τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ συνεδρίου πέντε ἄνδρας ἀπέσφαξε. διὸ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα προήγετο[3]· πολέμους γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγκαίους ἐπαναιρούμενος ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. οὐκέτι γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα τῶν φίλων ἔχειν[4] παρρησίαν οὐδὲ ἐπιπλήτ-

[1] So Salmasius, Valesius : αὐτὸν P.
[2] So Dindorf : αὐτὸς P.
[3] So Dindorf : προηγάγετο P.
[4] ἔχειν] ἄγειν Dindorf.

[1] Philip V (221–179 B.C.). [2] See Book 27. 3.
[3] Polybius (18. 54. 10) records that wherever he landed he

1. Philip, the king of the Macedonians,[1] induced Dicaearchus of Aetolia, a bold adventurer, to engage in piracy, and gave him twenty ships. He ordered him to levy tribute on the islands and to support the Cretans in their war against the Rhodians.[2] Obedient to these commands Dicaearchus harried commercial shipping, and by marauding raids exacted money from the islands.[3] *c.* 204 B.C.

2. Philip, the king of the Macedonians, had by him a certain knavish fellow, Heracleides of Tarentum,[4] who in private conversations with the king made many false and malicious charges against the friends whom Philip held in high esteem. Eventually Philip sank so low in impiety as to murder five leading members of the council. From that point on his situation deteriorated, and by embarking upon unnecessary wars he came near losing his kingdom at the hands of the Romans. For none of his friends any longer dared speak their minds or rebuke the

set up altars to Impiety and Lawlessness. Holleaux (*R.E.G.* 33 [1920], 223 ff. = *Études d' épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, 4. 124 ff.) dates the expedition in 205 or 204, rather than in 202 B.C. (as its place in the narrative might suggest), and considers its mention here incidental to a moral judgement on Philip. Dicaearchus was put to death at Alexandria by Aristomenes in 196 B.C.

[4] Cp. below, chap. 9, and Polybius, 13. 4.

τειν τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνοίᾳ, πεφρικὼς αὐτοῦ τὴν προπέτειαν. ἐστράτευσε δὲ ἐπὶ Δαρδάνους οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, καὶ τούτους παρατάξει νικήσας ἀνεῖλεν ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους.

3. Ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς χωρὶς τῆς πλεονεξίας οὕτως ὑπερήφανος ἦν ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ὥστε τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἀκρίτως ἀποσφάξαι, τοὺς δὲ τάφους τῶν προτετελευτηκότων καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκάπτειν. Ἀντίοχος δὲ τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἐλυμαΐδα τέμενος τοῦ Διὸς συλᾶν ἐπιβαλόμενος πρέπουσαν τὴν καταστροφὴν εὗρε τοῦ βίου, μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπολόμενος. ἀμφότεροι δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν δυνάμεις ἀνυποστάτους εἶναι νομίσαντες μιᾷ παρατάξει συνηναγκάσθησαν ἑτέροις ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον. διὸ καὶ τῆς[1] μὲν περὶ αὐτοὺς γενομένης ἀτυχίας τὰς ἰδίας ἁμαρτίας ᾐτιῶντο, τῶν δὲ συγχωρηθέντων φιλανθρώπων τὰς χάριτας εἶχον τοῖς ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ἐπιεικῶς αὐτοῖς χρησαμένοις. τοιγαροῦν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ περιγραφῆς[2] τῶν ἰδίων πράξεων ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἑώρων τὰς αὐτῶν βασιλείας ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου προαγομένας. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τότε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα δικαίους ἐνιστάμενοι πολέμους καὶ πλεῖστον[3] ὅρκων καὶ σπονδῶν ποιούμενοι λόγον οὐκ ἀλόγως συμμάχους εἶχον τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν ἁπάσαις ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 269-270.)

[1] So Salmasius, Valesius: τοῖς P.
[2] So Van der Mey: παραγραφῆς P.
[3] So Salmasius, Valesius: πλείστων P.

[1] Antiochus III, the Great, ruler of the Seleucid kingdom from 223 to 187 B.C. For the incident at Elymaïs (187 B.C.) see Book 29. 15.

king's folly for fear of his impetuous temper. He also led an expedition against the Dardanians, though they had done him no wrong, and after defeating them in pitched battle massacred more than ten thousand men.

3. Quite apart from his aggressive ambition, Philip, the king of the Macedonians, was so arrogant in prosperity that he had his friends put to death without benefit of trial, destroyed the tombs of earlier generations, and razed many temples to the ground. As for Antiochus,[1] his project of pillaging the sanctuary of Zeus at Elymaïs brought him to appropriate disaster, and he perished with all his host. Both men, though convinced that their armies were irresistible, found themselves compelled by the outcome of a single battle[2] to do the bidding of others. In consequence they ascribed to their own shortcomings the misfortunes that befell them, while for the generous treatment that they were accorded they were duly grateful to those who in the hour of victory practised such moderation. So it was that, as if following a design sketched in their own acts, they beheld the decline into which heaven was leading their kingdoms. The Romans, however, who both on this occasion and thereafter engaged only in just wars and were scrupulous in the observance of oaths and treaties, enjoyed, not without reason, the active support of the gods in all their undertakings.

[2] This refers to the battles of Cynoscephalae, 197 B.C., and Magnesia, 189 B.C., not to a single engagement affecting both monarchs. With the whole passage cp. Polybius, 15. 20, on the unholy alliance of the two kings to divide the Ptolemaic Empire (*c.* 203/2 B.C.).

4. Ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἄν τις ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν συμβολαίων εὕροι[1] τοὺς πονηρευομένους ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ζημίαις περιπίπτοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς ἀδίκοις πράγμασιν ἐπιβαλλομένους παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου τιμωρίας τυγχάνοντας. ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῖς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτευομένοις ὁ νόμος, οὕτω τοῖς ἐν ἐξουσίαις ὁ θεὸς βραβευτὴς γίνεται τῶν πραττομένων, καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν μεταδιώξασιν οἰκεῖα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔπαθλα ἐπιτίθησι, τοῖς δὲ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἤ τινα ἄλλην κακίαν ἐπανελομένοις οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐφίστησι τιμωρίαν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 360.)

5. Ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς σπανίζων τροφῆς οὐ διέλιπε τὴν ὑπ' Ἄτταλον χώραν λεηλατῶν μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περγαμηνῶν πόλεως. κατέσκαψε δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον ἱερά, τό τε Νικηφόριον[2] πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένον καὶ τἄλλα γλυφὰς ἔχοντα θαυμαζομένας εἰς τέλος παρῴνησε.[3] δι' ὀργῆς γὰρ ἔχων τὸν Ἄτταλον, ἐπεὶ τοῦτον οὐ κατέλαβε περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους, τὸν θυμὸν εἰς ταῦτα κατετίθετο.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 270-271.)

6. Ὅτι Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Ἄβυδον πρὸς Φίλιππον τὰ δεδογμένα τῇ συγκλήτῳ περὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ ἔφησεν, ἐὰν μὲν ἐμμένωσι ταῖς ὁμολογίαις Ῥωμαῖοι, ποιήσειν αὐτοὺς ὀρθῶς, ἐὰν δὲ ἐπεμβαίνωσι,

[1] So Dindorf: εὕροιτο V.
[2] So Valesius: τονδενικηφόρον P.

4. Not only, we may note, do those who wickedly violate private contracts fall foul of the law and its penalties, but even among kings all who engage in acts of injustice meet with retribution from on high. Just as the law is the arbiter of men's deeds for the citizens of a democratic state, so is God the judge of men in positions of authority: to those who seek after virtue he grants rewards appropriate to their virtue, and for those who indulge in greed or any other vice he appoints prompt and fitting punishment.

5. Driven by the need to obtain provisions, Philip, 201 B.C.
the king of the Macedonians, went about plundering the territory of Attalus, even to the very gates of Pergamum. He razed to the ground the sanctuaries round about the city, and did extreme violence to the richly bedecked Nicephorium and to other temples admired for their sculptures. He was, in fact, enraged with Attalus and, because he failed to find him in that part of the country, vented his spleen on the temples.[1]

6. Having sailed to Abydus to meet Philip, Marcus 200 B.C.
Aemilius announced to him the decisions of the senate respecting the allies.[2] Philip replied that if the Romans abided by their agreements they would be acting rightly, but that, if they trampled them

[1] Cp. Polybius, 16. 1. The Nicephorium was sacred to Athena "Bringer of Victory," whose type appears regularly on the Attalid coinage.

[2] Cp. Polybius, 16. 34. 1-7. Holleaux (*Cambridge Ancient History*, 8. 164) argues that this mission of M. Aemilius Lepidus was coincident with the actual opening of hostilities, and was in fact the declaration of war, *indictio belli*, the Roman ultimatum having already been transmitted to Philip through Nicanor.

[3] So Wesseling: παρώνισε P.

τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος ἀμυνεῖσθαι[1] τοὺς ἀδίκου πολέμου κατάρχοντας.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 361.)

7. Ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλθὼν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ Κυνόσαργες. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν Ἀκαδημίαν ἐνέπρησε καὶ τοὺς τάφους κατέσκαψεν, ἔτι δὲ τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν ἐλυμήνατο. χαρισάμενος δὲ τῷ θυμῷ, καθάπερ εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἐξαμαρτάνων, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πάλαι βλασφημούμενος τότε τελέως ἐμισήθη, ὑπὸ δὲ θεῶν ταχὺ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιτιμήσεως ἔτυχε, διὰ μὲν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀβουλίαν τοῖς ὅλοις σφαλείς, διὰ δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιείκειαν τυχὼν συγγνώμης.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 271.)

8. Ὅτι ὁ Φίλιππος συννοήσας τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τούτους παραθαρσύνων ἐδίδασκεν ὅτι τοῖς μὲν νικῶσιν οὐδὲν τούτων γίνεται, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἧτταν ἀπολλυμένοις οὐ διαφέρειν ὑπὸ πηλίκων ἂν τραυμάτων ἀποθάνωσι.

2 Ὅτι ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ εἰώθασιν οἱ τοῖς τρόποις φαῦλοι τοὺς συναναστρεφομένους ὁμοίους ἑαυτοῖς συγκατασκευάζειν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 361.)

9. Ὅτι Φίλιππος θεωρῶν τῶν Μακεδόνων τοὺς πλείστους ἑαυτῷ χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἔχειν φίλον, παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν φυλακήν. ἦν δὲ οὗτος Ταραντῖνος μὲν τὸ γένος, πονηρίᾳ δὲ ὑπερβαλλούσῃ χρώμενος καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐξ ἐπιεικοῦς βασιλέως πεποιηκὼς πικρὸν

[1] So Herwerden: ἀμύνεσθαι V.

under foot, he would call the gods to witness their unjust aggression and would defend himself against them.

7. On his arrival at Athens, Philip of Macedon encamped at Cynosarges, and proceeded to set fire to the Academy, to pull down the tombs, and even to outrage the sanctuaries of the gods.[1] By thus indulging his anger as if it were Athens rather than the gods that he was offending, he now not only incurred the utter hatred of mankind, that had long reviled him, but also brought down upon his head swift and fitting chastisement from the gods. For through his own lack of prudence he was thoroughly defeated, and it was only through the forbearance of the Romans that he met with lenient treatment.

8. Philip, observing that his men were disheartened, 199 B.C.
pointed out to them by way of encouragement that none of these ills attend a victorious army, while for those who perish in defeat it makes no difference whether their death-wounds are large or small.[2]

As a general rule men of base character inculcate a similar baseness in their associates.

9. Philip, perceiving that most of the Macedonians 199/8 B.C.
were angry with him because of his friendship for Heracleides, had him placed in custody.[3] A native of Tarentum, Heracleides was a man of surpassing wickedness, who had transformed Philip from a

[1] Cp. Livy, 31. 24. The tombs were those of the famous cemetery of the Outer Cerameicus, beyond the Dipylon, where many of the finest examples of Attic funerary art have been discovered.

[2] Livy, 31. 34, speaks of the terror inspired in the Macedonians, at their first encounter, by the Romans' use of the Spanish sword.

[3] Cp. Livy, 32. 5.

καὶ ἀσεβῆ τύραννον. διὸ δὴ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι ὑπερβαλλόντως συνέβαινε μισεῖσθαι τὸν Ἡρακλείδην.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 271.)

Chap. 10: see below, after Chap. 12.

11. Ὅτι τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν πρέσβεις πεμψάντων πρὸς Φίλιππον καὶ Φλαμίνιον, Φλαμίνιος μὲν ᾤετο δεῖν τὸν Φίλιππον ἐκχωρεῖν ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅπως ἀφρούρητος ᾖ καὶ αὐτόνομος, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς παρεσπονδημένοις τὰς βλάβας εὐδοκουμένως.[1] ὁ δὲ ἔφη δεῖν τὰ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ καταλελειμμένα βεβαίως ἔχειν, ὅσα δὲ τυγχάνει προσηγμένος,[2] ἐκ τούτων ἐξάγειν τὰς φρουράς, περὶ δὲ τῆς βλάβης κρίνεσθαι. εἰπόντος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα Φλαμινίου μὴ δεῖσθαι κρίσεως, δεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν τοὺς πεπονθότας πείθειν, καὶ διότι παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἐντολὰς ἔχοι ταύτας ὅπως μὴ μέρος τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἐλευθεροῦν, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Φίλιππος, Καὶ τί τούτου βαρύτερόν, φησιν, προσετάξατ' ἂν μοι πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες; καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐχωρίσθη διωργισμένος.

12. Ὅτι ὄντος τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλέως περὶ τὸν τῆς Λυσιμαχείας πόλεως ἀνοικισμὸν[3] παρεγενήθησαν οἱ παρὰ Φλαμινίου πρέσβεις. εἰσαχθέντες δὲ εἰς τὸ συνέδριον παρεκάλουν Ἀντίοχον ἐκχωρῆσαι τῶν ὑπὸ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Φίλιππον γεγενημένων πόλεων, καὶ καθόλου θαυμά-

[1] So Dindorf (cp. Book 4. 24): εὐδοκιμουμένως V.
[2] So Dindorf: προηγμένος V.
[3] So Dindorf: ἀνῳκισμὸν V.

virtuous king into a harsh and godless tyrant, and had thereby incurred the deep hatred of all Macedonians and Greeks.

11. On the occasion of the Epirote embassy to Philip and Flamininus,[1] Flamininus held that Philip must completely evacuate Greece, which should thereafter be ungarrisoned and autonomous, and that he must offer satisfactory compensation for damage done to those who had suffered from his breaches of faith. Philip replied that he must have assured possession of what he had inherited from his father, but that he would withdraw the garrisons from whatever cities he had himself won over, and would submit the question of damages to arbitration. To this Flamininus replied that there was no need of arbitration, that Philip himself must make terms with those whom he had wronged; furthermore he himself was under orders from the senate to liberate Greece, the whole of it, not merely a part. Philip retorted by asking: "What heavier condition would you have imposed if you had defeated me in war?", and with these words he departed in a rage. 198 B.C.

12. While Antiochus, the king of Asia, was engaged in refounding the city of Lysimacheia,[2] the commissioners sent by Flamininus arrived. Having been led before the council, they called upon Antiochus to retire from the cities previously subject to Ptolemy or to Philip, and said that in general they wondered 196 B.C.

[1] Consul for 198 B.C. The texts of Diodorus, Dio, and Zonaras generally give his name as Φλαμίνιος instead of Φλαμινῖνος; Polybius uses only the praenomen and nomen, T. Quinctius. For this meeting of Philip and Flamininus at the Aoüs see Livy, 32. 10. 1-8.
[2] In Thrace. For a fuller account of the meeting see Polybius, 18. 50-52.

ζειν ἔφασαν τί βουλόμενος πεζικάς τε καὶ ναυτικὰς συνάγει δυνάμεις καὶ τί διανοούμενος διαβέβηκεν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιβάλλεται πολεμεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀντιλέγων ἔφη θαυμάζειν πῶς Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἀσίας ἀντιποιοῦνται, τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐτοῦ μηδὲν[1] πολυπραγμονοῦντος· Λυσιμαχεῖς[2] δὲ ἀνοικίζων οὔτε Ῥωμαῖον οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα βλάπτειν[3]· τὰ δὲ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον αὐτὸς φροντίζειν[4] ὅπως μηδεμιᾶς ἀμφισβητήσεως τυγχάνῃ· δώσειν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα γυναῖκα. καὶ τούτων ῥηθέντων τῶν λόγων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐκ εὐδοκοῦντες ἐχωρίσθησαν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 361-362.)

Chap. 13: see below, after Chap. 10.

10. Ὅτι Ἀννίβας διὰ μόνης τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν φήμης καθ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην περίβλεπτος ἐγίνετο, κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἑκάστου σπεύδοντος θεάσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 271.)

Chaps. 11-12: see above, after Chap. 9.

13. Ὅτι οἱ παρὰ Νάβιδος καὶ Φλαμινίου πεμφθέντες εἰς Ῥώμην πρεσβευταὶ περὶ τῶν συνθηκῶν ἐπεὶ διελέχθησαν τῇ συγκλήτῳ περὶ ὧν τὰς ἐντολὰς εἶχον, ἔδοξε τῇ γερουσίᾳ βεβαιοῦν τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τὰς στρατιὰς ἀπάγειν. ὁ δὲ Φλαμίνιος ἀκούσας τὰ διῳκημένα πανταχόθεν τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετεπέμψατο καὶ συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν τὰς

[1] So Dindorf: μὴ V.
[2] So Boissevain (cp. Polybius, 18. 51. 7): Λυσίμαχος V; Λυσιμαχίαν (-ειαν Dindorf) Mai.
[3] βλάπτειν added by Mai. Herwerden suggests ἀδικεῖν (cp. Polybius, *l.c.*).
[4] φροντιεῖν Dindorf[4].

what purpose he had in assembling military and naval forces, and with what intention he had crossed the strait to Europe if not to undertake war against the Romans. By way of rejoinder, Antiochus expressed surprise that the Romans claimed interests in Asia though he did not meddle in any matter that concerned Italy; in resettling the Lysimacheians he was wronging neither the Romans nor anyone else; and as for his relations with Ptolemy, he himself had in mind a plan for avoiding all disputes, for he would give him his daughter in marriage. After this exchange the Romans, though ill content, took their departure.

10. The mere name and reputation of Hannibal had made him a celebrity the whole world through, and in every city each individual was eager for a sight of him.[1] 195 B.C.

13. Envoys were sent to Rome by Nabis and by Flamininus to conclude the treaty,[2] and when they had discussed with the senate the matters contained in their instructions, the senate agreed to ratify the agreement and to withdraw its garrisons and armies in Greece. When news of the settlement reached him, Flamininus summoned the leading men of all Greece, and convoking an assembly[3] repeated to 195/4 B.C.

[1] This fragment seems clearly to refer to Hannibal's flight from Carthage to the court of Antiochus III (cp. Livy, 33. 48-49), and consequently belongs here rather than to the place assigned it by Dindorf.
[2] Cp. Livy, 34. 22-41, for the brief Spartan War of 195 B.C., in which Nabis was defeated by Flamininus and the allied Greek forces.
[3] This second panhellenic congress was held at Corinth in the spring of 194 B.C. (Livy, 34. 48-50). The *optimates* who formed the chief supporters of Rome were, as wealthy conservatives, bitterly opposed to Nabis.

τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐεργεσίας ἀνενεώσατο καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Νάβιν ἀπελογεῖτο, διότι κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν πεποιήκασι, καὶ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου προαίρεσιν ἅπαντες οἱ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατοικοῦντές εἰσιν[1] ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἀφρούρητοι καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις πολιτευόμενοι. ᾐτήσατο δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων χάριν ὅπως τοὺς δουλεύοντας παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἰταλιώτας ἀναζητήσαντες ἀποστείλωσιν ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα. ὃ καὶ γέγονεν.

(*Const. Exc.* 1, p. 397.)

14. Ὅτι ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς μέχρι μέν τινος ἐπῃνεῖτο· Ἀριστομένη δὲ τὸν ἐπίτροπον αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον καὶ πάντα καλῶς διῳκηκότα τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἠγάπα καθαπερεὶ πατέρα καὶ πάντα ἔπραττεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν κολακευόντων διαφθαρεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν τόν τε Ἀριστομένη παρρησιαζόμενον ἐμίσησε καὶ τέλος συνηνάγκασεν αὐτὸν πιόντα κώνειον τελευτῆσαι. ἀεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον θηριούμενος καὶ τυραννικὴν παρανομίαν ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλικὴν ἐξουσίαν ζηλώσας, ἐμισήθη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἐκινδύνευσε δὲ ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 271.)

15. Ὅτι πάλιν ἡ σύγκλητος διήκουσε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρεσβειῶν καὶ ταύταις φιλανθρώπως προσεφώνει βουλομένη προθύμους αὐτοὺς ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντιοχικὸν πόλεμον, ὃν ταχέως προσεδόκα. τοῖς δὲ παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβεσιν ἀπεκρίθη

[1] So Ursinus: ὦσιν O.

[1] Captives who had been sold into slavery by Hannibal.

them Rome's good services to the Greeks. In defence of the settlement made with Nabis he pointed out that the Romans had done what was in their power, and that in accordance with the declared policy of the Roman people all the inhabitants of Greece were now free, ungarrisoned, and most important of all, governed by their own laws. In return he asked the Greeks to seek out such Italians[1] as were held in slavery among them, and to repatriate them within thirty days. This was accomplished.

14. Ptolemy, the king of Egypt,[2] was for a time regarded with approval. Aristomenes had been appointed his guardian and had been in all respects an able administrator. Now at the start Ptolemy revered him like a father and was wholly guided by his judgement. Later, however, corrupted by the flattery of his courtiers, he came to hate Aristomenes for his frankness of speech, and finally compelled him to end his life with a draught of hemlock. His ever-increasing brutality and his emulation, not of kingly authority, but of tyrannical licence, brought on him the hatred of the Egyptian people and nearly cost him his kingdom.

15. Once more the senate granted audience to embassies from Greece and greeted them with friendly words, for they wanted the goodwill of the Greeks in case of war with Antiochus, which they considered imminent. The envoys of Philip were told that if he 194/3 B.C.

[2] Ptolemy V Epiphanes (203–181/0 B.C.). For political reasons his minority was declared at an end in 197 or 196 B.C., though the king was then only 12 to 14 years old; the inscription of the famous "Rosetta Stone" commemorates his accession. On Aristomenes see Polybius, 15. 31: the exact date of his death is uncertain (192 B.C. at the latest, according to Niese).

διότι φυλάττοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν πίστιν τῶν τε φόρων αὐτὸν ἀπολύσει[1] καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν υἱόν. τοῖς δὲ ἐληλυθόσι παρὰ Ἀντιόχου συνέστησεν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας δέκα τοὺς διακουσομένους περὶ ὧν
2 ἔφησαν[2] ἐντολὰς ἔχειν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. ὧν συνεδρευσάντων ὁ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀφηγούμενος Μένιππος ἔλεγεν ἥκειν ὅπως Ἀντιόχῳ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν συνάψηται πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. ἔφησε δὲ θαυμάζειν τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τίνα ποτ'[3] αἰτίαν προστάττουσιν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαῖοι τινὰ μὲν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν,[4] τινῶν δὲ τῶν πόλεων ἀφίστασθαι καὶ παρ' ἐνίων τοὺς ὀφειλομένους φόρους μὴ λαμβάνειν· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ τοῖς ἐξ ἴσου τὴν φιλίαν ποιουμένοις ἔθος εἶναι ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολέμῳ νενικηκόσι· τοὺς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβεύοντας ἐπὶ Λυσιμάχειαν ἐπιτακτικῶς αὐτῷ διαστέλλειν περὶ τούτων· Ἀντιόχῳ δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον μὲν μηδέποτε γεγονέναι· φιλίαν δ' ἂν συνθέσθαι βούλωνται πρὸς αὐτόν, ἕτοιμον εἶναι.
3 ὁ δὲ Φλαμίνιος ἔφη δυοῖν πραγμάτων ὄντων ἕτερον[5] τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν σύγκλητον συγχωρεῖν, εἰ μὲν βούλεται τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπέχεσθαι, μηδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν Ῥωμαίους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ προαιρεῖται,[6] γινώσκειν ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν
4 φίλοις καταδουλουμένοις βοηθήσουσιν. τῶν δὲ

[1] So Ursinus: ἀπολύσειν O.
[2] So Ursinus: ἔφησεν O.
[3] So Dindorf: ποίαν τ' O.
[4] So Ursinus: πολυπραγμονήσειν O.
[5] ἕτερον] θάτερον Dindorf[4].

remained faithful, the senate would relieve him of the payments of indemnity and would release his son Demetrius.[1] In the case of the envoys who had come from Antiochus a commission of ten senators was set up to hear of the matters with which they stated they had been charged by the king. The session having convened, Menippus, the leader of the embassy, stated that he had come with the aim of forming a pact of friendship and alliance between Antiochus and the Romans. He said, however, that the king wondered what possible reason the Romans had for ordering him not to meddle in certain European affairs, to renounce his claims to certain cities, and not to exact from some the tribute owing to him: such demands as these were unprecedented when a pact of friendship between equals was being negotiated; they were the demands of conquerors settling a war, yet the envoys sent to the king at Lysimacheia had presumed to dictate to him precise instructions on these matters; Antiochus had never been at war with the Romans, and if they wished to effect a treaty of friendship with him, the king stood ready and willing. Flamininus replied that two possible courses lay open, and that the senate allowed the king his choice of one: if he was willing to keep his hands off Europe, the Romans would not meddle with Asiatic affairs; if, however, he did not elect this policy, he must know that the Romans would go to the aid of their friends who were being enslaved. The am-

[1] Demetrius was one of the group of hostages taken to Rome after Cynoscephalae. Possibly the words τῆς ὁμηρείας (cp. Polybius, 21. 3) have dropped from the text at this point. With the whole passage cp. Livy, 34. 57-59.

[6] So Ursinus: προαιρεῖτε O.

πρεσβευτῶν ἀποκριναμένων ὡς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον συνθήσονται δι' οὗ ταπεινώσουσι τὴν βασιλέως ἀρχήν, τῇ ἐχομένῃ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡ σύγκλητος εἶπεν ὡς ἐὰν Ἀντίοχος περιεργάζηταί τι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην, Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἕλληνας ἐλευθερώσουσιν. ἐπισημηναμένων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρεσβευτῶν, οἱ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἠξίουν τε τὴν σύγκλητον ἐνθυμηθῆναι ἡλίκων ἑκατέροις κατάρχεται κινδύνων καὶ μηδὲν ταχέως πράττειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ δοῦναι χρόνον εἰς βουλήν, καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιμελέστερον περὶ τούτων βουλεύεσθαι.

(*Const. Exc.* 1, pp. 397-398.)

bassadors having then made answer that they would agree to no condition of this nature, whereby they would impair the authority of the throne, the senate on the following day announced to the Greeks that if Antiochus interfered at all in European affairs the Romans would bend every effort to liberate the Asiatic Greeks. After the ambassadors of the Greek states had applauded this statement, the king's envoys called upon the senate to reflect how great was the risk to which they exposed each of the two parties, and to take no immediate action, but rather to give the king time to consider, and themselves to engage in more careful consideration of the case.

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXIX

1. Ὅτι τὸ Δήλιον ἱερὸν ἦν οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχον τῆς Χαλκίδος . . . διόπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐβλασφημεῖτο, τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ[1] πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου πεποιημένος ἐξ ἀσεβείας. οὗ †συνελθόντος[2] Φλαμίνιος[3] περὶ Κόρινθον διατρίβων ἐπεμαρτύρατο πάντας ἀνθρώπους τε καὶ θεοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ προκατῆρχθαι τοῦ πολέμου τὸν βασιλέα.

2. Ὅτι Ἀντίοχος ἐν Δημητριάδι τὴν παραχειμασίαν ποιούμενος καὶ πλείω τῶν πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν βεβιωκὼς τῆς μὲν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς ἠμέλησε, παρθένου δὲ εὐπρεποῦς ἐρασθεὶς ἐκάθητο τοὺς ταύτης ἐπιτελῶν γάμους καὶ πανηγύρεις λαμπρὰς συνήγαγε. ταῦτα δὲ πράττων οὐ μόνον ἑαυτοῦ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν διέφθειρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν δυνάμεων ὁρμὰς ἐξέλυσε, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν χειμῶνα κατατετριφότες ἐν ἀνέσει καὶ τρυφῇ κακῶς ἀπήλλαττον ἐν ταῖς ἀπορίαις,[4] οὔτε δίψαν οὔτε ἄλλην κακοπάθειαν φέρειν δυνάμενοι. διόπερ

[1] So Salmasius, Valesius: τοὺς P.
[2] †συνελθόντος] συντελεσθέντος Dindorf, but there is probably another lacuna in the text.
[3] On the form of the name see note to Book 28. 11.
[4] ἀπορίαις] πορείαις Dindorf.

---

[1] Here, in the sacred precinct of Apollo, the soldiers of Antiochus surprised and all but annihilated a body of 500

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIX

1. Delium was a sanctuary, not far distant from Chalcis. . . .[1] Because he had thus begun the war against Rome with an act of sacrilege the king was vilified by the Greeks . . . and Flamininus, who was then at Corinth, called upon all men and gods to bear him witness that the first act of aggression in the war had been committed by the king. 192 B.C.

2. Antiochus established his winter quarters at Demetrias. Being now more than fifty years old, he neglected to make preparations for the war, but having fallen in love with a beautiful maiden, whiled away the time in celebrating his marriage to her, and held brilliant assemblies and festivals.[2] By this behaviour he not only ruined himself, body and mind, but also demoralized his army. Indeed, his soldiers, after passing the whole winter in ease and soft living, acquitted themselves poorly when confronted with scarcity,[3] being unable to endure thirst or other 192/1 B.C.

Romans: see Livy, 35. 50-51. T. Quinctius Flamininus, the victor of Cynoscephalae (197 B.C.), was a member of the commission sent to Greece to oppose Aetolian influence and rally the Greeks against Antiochus (Livy, 35. 23).

[2] Polybius, 20. 8, and Livy, 36. 11, identify the bride as a Chalcidian, the daughter of Cleoptolemus, and place the scene of the wedding at Chalcis, whither Antiochus had proceeded from Demetrias in Thessaly.

[3] Or perhaps "on the march." See critical note.

αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν εἰς νόσους ἐνέπιπτον, οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ὑπολειπόμενοι πολὺ τῶν τάξεων ἀπεσπῶντο.

3. Ὅτι Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς ἐν Θετταλίᾳ πόλεις πυνθανόμενος πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μετατεθεῖσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας δυνάμεις ὑστερούσας καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καταμελοῦντας[1] καὶ προφάσεις ἀεὶ πορίζομένους, ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ πολλῇ καθειστήκει. διὸ καὶ τοὺς πεπεικότας[2] αὐτὸν ἀπαράσκευον ὄντα ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν συμμαχίᾳ[3] τὸν πόλεμον ἐπανελέσθαι δι' ὀργῆς εἶχε· τὸν δὲ Ἀννίβαν τὴν ἐναντίαν γνώμην ἐσχηκότα τότε ἐθαύμαζε καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχεν ἐν τούτῳ, τόν τε[4] πρὸ τοῦ[5] χρόνον ὑπόπτως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακείμενος τότε πιστότατον αὐτὸν εἶχε φίλον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τούτου γνώμης πάντα ἔπραττεν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 271-272.)

4. Ὅτι τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς διαπρεσβευσαμένοις περὶ διαλύσεων ἐδογμάτισεν ἡ σύγκλητος ἢ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέπειν Ῥωμαίοις ἢ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου δοῦναι παραχρῆμα Ῥωμαίοις. οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀποτομίαν τῆς ἀποκρίσεως οὐ προσδεξάμενοι τὰ προστατττόμενα εἰς φόβους καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐνέπεσον[6]· συνηγωνισμένοι γὰρ[7] τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐκτενέστατα εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐνέπιπτον οὐδεμίαν ἔκβασιν ἔχοντες τῶν κακῶν. (*Const. Exc.* 1, p. 398.)

[1] καταμέλλοντας Herwerden, Dindorf[4].
[2] So Reiske, who deletes καὶ πείσαντας after ὄντα, below: πεποιηκότας P.
[3] τῇ . . . συμμαχίᾳ Valesius: τὴν . . . συμμαχίαν P.
[4] So Dindorf: δὲ P.
[5] So Herwerden: τούτου P.
[6] Suidas, *s.v.* ἀποτομία, gives this sentence as follows: οἱ δὲ . . . ἀποκρίσεως οὐ τὸ τυχὸν δέος εἶχον περὶ αὐτούς.
[7] γὰρ added by Herwerden; τε de Boor.

hardships. In consequence, some would fall ill, and others, straggling on the march, became widely separated from their formations.

3. King Antiochus, learning that the cities of Thessaly had gone over to the Romans, that his Asiatic forces were slow in arriving, and that the Aetolians were negligent and full of excuses, was deeply distressed. He was, in consequence, angry with those who, on the strength of the Aetolian alliance, had induced him to embark upon a war for which he was not prepared; for Hannibal, however, who had held the contrary opinion, he was now filled with admiration, and pinned all his hopes upon him. Whereas previously he had been disposed to regard him with suspicion, he now looked upon Hannibal as a most trustworthy friend and followed his advice in all matters.[1] 191 B.C.

4. As to the Aetolians, from whom an embassy had come to discuss terms of peace, the senate decided that they must either place themselves at the discretion[2] of the Romans, or pay Rome at once a thousand talents of silver. The Aetolians, who because of the severity of the reply refused to accede to these demands, were thoroughly alarmed and found themselves in grave danger; for their zealous support of the king[3] had plunged them into hopeless difficulties, and there was no way out of their troubles.

[1] Cp. Livy, 36. 13-15.
[2] A formula for unconditional surrender.
[3] Despite their earlier inertia and their inadequate support of Antiochus at Thermopylae (April 191 B.C.), the Aetolians had offered Rome stubborn and effective opposition throughout the summer. For the embassy see Polybius, 21. 2.

5. Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος διὰ τὴν ἧτταν ταπεινωθεὶς ἔκρινε τῆς μὲν Εὐρώπης ἐξίστασθαι, περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας διαγωνίζεσθαι. καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς Λυσιμαχεῦσι πανδημεὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν, εἰς δὲ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεις μετοικῆσαι. καὶ ἔδοξε πᾶσιν ἀφρόνως βεβουλεῦσθαι καὶ πόλιν ἐπικαιρότατα κειμένην πρὸς τὸ διακωλῦσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν περαιοῦν τὰς δυνάμεις ἀκονιτὶ προέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἀκολούθως δὲ τῇ διαλήψει ταύτῃ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἔργον ἐπληρώθη. ὁ γὰρ Σκιπίων τὴν πόλιν καταλαβὼν ἔρημον αὐτομάτως εὐημέρησε ταύτην παραλαβών.[1] (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 272.)

6. Ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις αἱ τῶν χρημάτων παρασκευαί, καθάπερ ἡ κοινὴ παροιμία[2] φησίν, ἑταῖραι[3] τῶν πράξεων· ὁ γὰρ τούτων εὐπορῶν οὐκ ἀπορεῖ τῶν μάχεσθαι δυναμένων ἀνδρῶν. οἱ γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι προσφάτως Ῥωμαίους εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ἤγαγον, οὐ πολιτικοῖς στρατιώταις τὰς τηλικαύτας παρατάξεις νικῶντες ἀλλὰ τῷ τῶν μισθοφόρων πλήθει. ἔστιν γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ξενικῆς δυνάμεως εὐχρηστότατον μὲν τοῖς ἔχουσι, φοβερώτατον δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγου χρήματος ἀθροίζουσι τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κινδυνεύοντας, οἱ δὲ κἂν νικήσωσιν, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἄλλους ἔχουσιν ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἐξ ἑτοίμου. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ

[1] So Dindorf: καταλαβὼν P.
[2] So Mai: παρρησία V.
[3] φησίν, ἑταῖραι] φησί, νεῦρα Dindorf[4].

[1] The naval defeat at Myonnesus, September, 190 B.C., which cost Antiochus control of the seas.
[2] L. Cornelius Scipio was consul for 190 B.C., but his brother Publius ("Africanus"), though officially only legate to Lucius, was in effect in charge of operations. On the abandoning of Lysimacheia see Livy, 37. 31.

5. Humbled by his defeat[1] Antiochus decided to withdraw from Europe and to concentrate on the defence of Asia. He ordered the inhabitants of Lysimacheia to abandon their city one and all, and find residence in the cities of Asia. It was the universal opinion that this was a foolish plan, and that he had thereby abandoned to the enemy without a struggle a city most conveniently situated to prevent them from bringing their forces over from Europe into Asia. The sequel of events fully confirmed this judgement, since Scipio,[2] on finding the city deserted, gained a gratuitous success by occupying it. 190 B.C.

6. In warfare a ready supply of money is indeed, as the familiar proverb has it, the sister[3] of success, since he who is well provided with money never lacks men able to fight. So, for example, the Carthaginians recently brought the Romans to the brink of disaster, yet it was not with an army of citizens that they won their victories in those great engagements, but by the great number of their mercenary soldiers. An abundance of foreign troops is, in fact, very advantageous to the side that employs them, and very formidable to the enemy, inasmuch as the employers bring together at trifling cost men to do battle in their behalf, while citizen soldiers, even if victorious, are nevertheless promptly faced with a fresh crop of opponents. In the case of citizen armies, a single

[3] Literally, "companion." Dindorf emends to read: "Money is the sinews of war." If, as seems likely, this passage is from a speech encouraging Antiochus to make war on Rome (cp. Livy, 35. 17-18), it probably belongs at the end of Book 28 or at the beginning of Book 29.

τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων ὁ καταγωνισθεὶς ἅπαξ τοῖς ὅλοις ἔπταικεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ξενικῶν ὁσάκις ἂν ἡττηθῶσιν, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἀκεραίους ἔχουσι τὰς δυνάμεις μέχρις ἂν χρημάτων εὐπορῶσιν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὔτε μισθοφόρους εἰώθασιν ἔχειν οὔτε χρημάτων εὐποροῦσιν.

2 *Ὅτι εἰώθασιν ὡς ἐπίπαν οἱ στρατιῶται τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀφηγουμένοις μιμηταὶ γίνεσθαι.*

3 *Ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος ταχὺ τῆς ἰδίας ἀνοίας τἀπίχειρα κομισάμενος μετὰ συμφορῶν μεγάλων ἔμαθεν σωφρονεῖν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις.* (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 362.)

7. *Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος πυθόμενος τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβεβηκέναι πρεσβευτὴν ἐξέπεμψε πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Βυζάντιον περὶ διαλύσεων, ἀποδιδοὺς μὲν τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς δαπάνης, διδοὺς δὲ Λάμψακον*[1] *καὶ Σμύρναν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, δι' ἃς ὁ πόλεμος ἐδόκει κεκινῆσθαι. αὗται γὰρ αἱ πόλεις πρῶται τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλλήνων ἐπεπρεσβεύκεισαν*[2] *πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον παρακαλοῦσαι περὶ*[3] *τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν.*

8. *Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος Ποπλίῳ Σκιπίωνι τῷ τοῦ συνεδρίου προεστῶτι τὸν υἱὸν προσεπηγγείλατο ἄνευ λύτρων ἀποδώσειν, ὃν ἦν*[4] *εἰληφὼς ὅτε*[5] *περὶ Εὔβοιαν διέτριβεν, οὐδὲν δ' ἧττον καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος, συνεπιλαβομένῳ τῆς εἰρήνης. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων ὑπὲρ μὲν τῆς κατὰ τὸν υἱὸν ἀποδόσεως ἔφησε χάριν ἕξειν τῷ βασιλεῖ, χρημάτων δὲ πλήθους μὴ*

[1] *ἀποδιδοὺς . . . Λάμψακον*] So Ursinus (cp. Polybius, 21. 13. 3-5): *ἀποδιδοὺς μὲν τὴν ἡμίσειαν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς δαπάνης διδοὺς Λάμψακον* O.
[2] So Ursinus: *ἐπρεσβεύκεισαν* O.
[3] *περὶ* added by Ursinus.

defeat spells complete disaster, but in the case of mercenaries, however many times they suffer defeat, none the less the employers maintain their forces intact as long as their money lasts. It is not, however, the custom of the Romans to employ mercenaries, nor have they sufficient resources.

As a general rule soldiers follow the example set by their commanders.

Antiochus, having swiftly reaped the reward of his own folly, learned at the cost of great misfortunes not to let success turn his head.

7. Antiochus, on learning that the Romans had crossed to Asia, sent Heracleides of Byzantium to the consul to sue for peace,[1] offering to pay half the costs of the war, and also to give up the cities of Lampsacus, Smyrna, and Alexandria,[2] which had, it was thought, been responsible for bringing on the conflict. Of the Greek cities in Asia these were, in fact, the first to dispatch embassies to the senate, invoking its aid in behalf of their independence.

8. Antiochus, in addition, offered Publius Scipio, the senior member of the senate, the return of his son without ransom (he had taken him prisoner during his stay on Euboea[3]), and a large sum of money as well, if only he would give his support to the proposed peace. Scipio replied that he would be grateful to the king for the release of his son, but that there was no need of " a large sum of money "

[1] On this and the following excerpt cp. Polybius, 21. 13 15, and Livy, 37. 34-36.
[2] Alexandria Troas.
[3] Various stories were current as to the occasion and place of his capture (Livy, 37. 34. 5-6).

[4] *ὃν ἦν* Ursinus: *ὁ νῦν* O.
[5] So Schaefer: *ὅτ' ἂν* O.

προσδεῖσθαι. ἀντὶ δὲ ταύτης τῆς εὐεργεσίας συμβουλεύειν αὐτῷ μὴ παρατάττεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις πεπειραμένον τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ δόξας βαρύτερα τοῦ προσήκοντος προστάττειν τοῦτον[1] οὐ προσεδέξατο τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

(*Const. Exc.* 1, pp. 398-399.)

2 Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος πρὸς τὰ παράλογα τῆς τύχης ἔκρινε συμφέρειν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ Σκιπίωνι τὸν υἱόν, καὶ τοῦτον ἀπέστειλε κοσμήσας πολυτελέσι κατασκευαῖς. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 362.)

Chap. 9: see below, after Chap. 10.

10. Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἀπογνοὺς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπέστειλε πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ[2] συγγνώμην δοθῆναι περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων καὶ τυχεῖν ἐφ' οἷς δυνατόν ἐστι τῆς εἰρήνης. ὁ δὲ ὕπατος διατηρῶν τὴν πάτριον τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιείκειαν καὶ παρακληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ποπλίου συνεχώρησε τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τοῖσδε· ἐκχωρῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τῆς τε Εὐρώπης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεων καὶ ἐθνῶν· παραχωρῆσαι δὲ τῶν τε ἐλεφάντων καὶ μακρῶν νηῶν, καὶ τὰς δαπάνας τὰς γεγενημένας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀποδοῦναι, ὧν ἦν ἡ διατίμησις ταλάντων Εὐβοϊκῶν μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων· ἐκδότους δὲ παραδοῦναι τόν τε Καρχηδόνιον Ἀννίβαν καὶ τὸν Αἰτωλὸν Θόαντα καί τινας ἑτέρους, καὶ ὁμήρους εἴκοσι, οὓς ἂν[3] ἀπογράψωσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ὁ δὲ πάντα

[1] So Reiske: τούτου O.
[2] So Ursinus: αὐτὸν O.

besides; in return for this kindness, however, he advised Antiochus not to engage the Romans in battle now that he had had a sample of their prowess. Antiochus, however, finding the Roman unjustifiably harsh, rejected his counter-proposal.

With an eye to the surprises of Fortune Antiochus deemed it advantageous to release Scipio's son, and accordingly decked him out in rich array and sent him back.[1]

10. Antiochus,[2] abandoning the conflict in despair, dispatched an embassy to the consul, requesting pardon for his errors and the granting of peace on whatever terms possible. The consul, adhering to the traditional Roman policy of fair dealing, and moved by the appeals of his brother Publius, granted peace on the following terms: the king must withdraw, in favour of the Romans, from Europe and from the territory[3] on this side Taurus and the cities and nations included therein; he must surrender his elephants and warships, and pay in full the expenses incurred in the war, which were assessed at 15,000 Euboean talents; and he must deliver up Hannibal the Carthaginian, Thoas the Aetolian, and certain others, together with twenty hostages to be designated by the Romans. In his desire for peace Anti- 189 B.C.

[1] The king was at Thyateira; P. Scipio now lay ill at Elaea (Livy, 37. 37).
[2] Though retaining Dindorf's numbering of chapters 10 and 9, I have restored the order in which they appear in the *Excerpta de Legationibus*. The embassy of chap. 10 is clearly that which immediately followed on the battle of Magnesia (cp. Polybius, 21. 16-17; Livy, 37. 45), and hence falls early in 189 B.C.
[3] *i.e.* Asia north and west of the Taurus mountains.

[3] ἂν added by Herwerden, Dindorf[4].

προσδεξάμενος διὰ τὴν τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπελύθη τοῦ πολέμου.

Chap. 11 : see below, after Chap. 9.

9. Ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ πρὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἥττης εἰσαχθέντων εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον τῶν ἐξ Αἰτωλίας πρεσβευτῶν καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἰδίων ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδὲν διαλεχθέντων, αὐτὰ δὲ[1] τὰ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς καλῶς πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πραχθέντα διεξιόντων, ἀναστάς τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου τοὺς πρέσβεις ἠρώτησεν εἰ παραδιδόασιν ἑαυτοὺς Αἰτωλοὶ εἰς τὴν πίστιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ἀποσιωπησάντων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων, ἡ σύγκλητος ὑπολαβοῦσα τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀντέχειν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐλπίσιν ἀπράκτους ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. (*Const. Exc.* 1, pp. 399-400.)

Chap. 10: see above, after Chap. 8.

11. Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν κατὰ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἧτταν ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεων καὶ δυναστῶν καταντησάντων πρέσβεων, τῶν μὲν περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τῶν δὲ καὶ περὶ εὐχαριστηρίων ἀνθ' ὧν εὐεργετήκασι[2] τὴν Ῥώμην συναγωνισάμενοι[3] κατὰ Ἀντιόχου. οἷς πᾶσιν ἡ σύγκλητος ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας ὑπογράφουσα ἔφησε δέκα πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστέλλειν[4] εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τοὺς μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἅπαντα τάξοντας.[5] ἐπανελθόντων δὲ εἰς τὰς πατρίδας, καὶ τῶν δέκα πρέσβεων μετὰ τῶν περὶ Σκιπίωνα καὶ τὸν Αἰμίλιον συνεδρευσάντων, ἔκριναν οὗτοι καὶ διεσάφησαν τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου χώραν

[1] καλῶς after δὲ deleted by Ursinus.
[2] So Ursinus: εὐεργετήσασιν O.
[3] So Dindorf: καταγωνισάμενοι O.
[4] ἀποστελεῖν Ursinus, Dindorf[4].
[5] So Wetstein: ἕξοντας O; διατάξοντας Reiske.

ochus accepted all the conditions and brought the fighting to a close.

9. At Rome, before the defeat of Antiochus,[1] the envoys from Aetolia, on being brought before the senate, said not a word of their own shortcomings, but spoke at length of their services to Rome. A member of the senate thereupon arose and asked the envoys whether or not the Aetolians were willing to put themselves in the hands of the Roman people. When the envoys made no reply, the senate, assuming that the Aetolians still had their hopes pinned on Antiochus, sent them empty-handed back to Greece.

11. After the defeat of Antiochus envoys presented themselves from all the cities and principalities of Asia, some suing for independence, others for a return for their good services to Rome in the common struggle against Antiochus. The senate intimated to one and all that they had good reason to hope, and announced the dispatch of ten legates to Asia, who together with the generals in the field were to settle all matters. The envoys returned to their homes, and the ten legates, after first meeting in consultation with Scipio and Aemilius,[2] decided and proclaimed 188 B.C. that the territory this side Taurus, and the elephants,

[1] Livy, 37. 49, also relates the incident, which he sets in the *consular* year 189, after his account of the battle of Magnesia, but before certain news of the battle reached Rome (Livy, 37. 51. 8). Probably Diodorus also completed the story of Antiochus and then reverted to Aetolian affairs.

[2] The text is suspect and has probably been abridged. If it is to be trusted, the consultation with Scipio and Aemilius must have occurred after the two latter had returned to Rome (for the Scipios see Polybius, 21. 24. 16-17). Aemilius is probably L. Aemilius Regillus, the victor of Myonnesus; he and L. Scipio were each granted a triumph (Livy, 37. 58-59). For the Asiatic embassies to Rome see Polybius,

Εὐμένους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, Ῥοδίοις δὲ προσώρισαν Καρίαν καὶ Λυκίαν· τῶν δὲ πόλεων τὰς μὲν Εὐμένει φόρους δεδωκυίας ὑπὸ τὸν Εὐμένη τετάχθαι, τὰς δὲ Ἀντιόχῳ φόρον φερούσας ἀπολελύσθαι τῶν φόρων.

12. Ὅτι Γναῖος[1] Μάλλιος ὁ ἀνθύπατος, παραγενομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβευτῶν παρὰ Γαλατῶν περὶ συλλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου, τούτοις ἔδωκεν ἀπόκρισιν ὅτι τότε ποιήσεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης συνθήκας, ὅταν οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν καταντήσωσι πρὸς αὐτόν.

13. Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς παρελθὼν εἰς Λυκαονίαν τὸν προσοφειλόμενον σῖτον ἐκομίσατο παρὰ Ἀντιόχου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας φόρον ἐνιαυτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα. (*Const. Exc.* 1, p. 400.)

14. Ὅτι Μάρκος Φόλουιος στρατηγὸς ὢν παρανομήσας εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Λιγυστικὴν συμμάχους ἔτυχε τῆς προσηκούσης κολάσεως. παρελθὼν γὰρ εἰς τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Κενομανοὺς ὡς φίλος παρείλετο τὰ ὅπλα, μηδὲν ἔχων ἔγκλημα. ὁ δὲ ὕπατος πυθόμενος τὸ γεγονὸς τούτοις μὲν ἀπέδωκε τὰ ὅπλα, τὸν δὲ Μάρκον ἐζημίωσε χρήμασι.

15. Ὅτι Ἀντίοχος ἀπορῶν χρημάτων, ἀκούων δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἐλυμαΐδα τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ τοῦ Βήλου πολὺν ἐκ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἔχειν ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσόν, ἔγνω τοῦτο συλῆσαι. καὶ ἧκεν[2] εἰς τὴν Ἐλυμαΐδα,

[1] So Ursinus: Γναῖον O.
[2] ἥκων Valesius, Dindorf.

---

21. 18-24 (Livy, 37. 52-56); for the final awards of the Commission of Ten, delivered at Apameia, see Polybius, 21. 45 (Livy, 38. 39).

[1] Possibly a mistake for Attalus; cp. Polybius, 21. 45. 2.

[2] Cn. Manlius Vulso, consul in 189 B.C., who succeeded

were to belong to Eumenes; Caria and Lycia they added to the domain of Rhodes; the cities that had previously paid tribute to Eumenes[1] were to be subject to Eumenes, and any that still paid tribute to Antiochus were relieved of all obligations.

12. Gnaeus Manlius,[2] the proconsul, when approached by envoys from the Galatians seeking an end to hostilities, replied that he would make a treaty of peace with them only when their kings appeared before him in person.

13. Manlius proceeded to Lycaonia and received from Antiochus the grain that was due and the annual payment of a thousand talents stipulated in the agreement.[3]

14. Marcus Furius,[4] who while praetor violated the 187 B.C.
rights of the Ligurian allies, met with fitting punishment. For coming among the Cenomani, ostensibly as a friend, and without having grounds for complaint against them, he deprived them of their arms. The consul,[5] however, learning of the incident, restored the arms and imposed a fine on Marcus.

15. Antiochus, pressed for funds and hearing that the temple of Bel in Elymaïs had a large store of silver and gold, derived from the dedications, resolved to pillage it. He proceeded to Elymaïs and after

L. Scipio in the Asiatic command. On his settlement with the Galatians see Livy, 38. 40 (cp. Polybius, 21. 45. 12).

[3] Cn. Manlius had already received 2500 talents payable in advance of the peace (Polybius, 21. 40; Livy, 38. 37). As Gnaeus went north after the sessions at Apameia, the present passage may refer to his brother Lucius, who was sent to Syria to exact the oath from Antiochus (Polybius, 21. 43).

[4] M. Furius Crassipes. The text reads Fulvius, but see Livy, 39. 3 and 38. 42. 4.

[5] M. Aemilius Lepidus.

καὶ καταιτιασάμενος τοὺς ἐγχωρίους πολέμου κατάρχεσθαι τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν ἐσύλησε, χρημάτων δὲ πλῆθος ἀθροίσας ταχὺ τῆς προσηκούσης ἐκ θεῶν ἔτυχε κολάσεως. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 273.)

16. Ὅτι Φίλιππος ὠνείδισε τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ὡς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀνελπίστως διὰ Ῥωμαίων κυριεύσαντες λοιδοροῦσι τοὺς προγεγονότας κυρίους, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι οὔπω πᾶς αὐτοῖς ὁ ἥλιος δέδυκε. τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου ῥιφέντος ὑπόνοια τοῖς ἀκούουσιν εἰσέπεσεν ὡς Φιλίππου διαπολεμήσοντος πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ παροξυνθέντες ἔκριναν μηδεμίαν πόλιν πλὴν[1] τῶν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν οὐσῶν ἔχειν Φίλιππον. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 362-363.)

17. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῆς κοινῆς συνόδου τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συνελθούσης, εἰσήχθησαν[2] οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις. οὗτοι δὲ ἔφησαν τὴν σύγκλητον δυσαρεστεῖσθαι τῇ τῶν τειχῶν τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καθαιρέσει, ἣν ἐποίησε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὅτε τῆς Σπάρτης ἐκράτησε καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κατέταξεν εἰς τὴν κοινὴν πολιτείαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους εἰσήχθησαν[2] οἱ παρ' Εὐμένους πρέσβεις κομίζοντες δωρεὰν ταλάντων εἴκοσι, ἐξ ὧν ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὀψωνιάζεσθαι τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν σύνοδον. οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν δόσιν τῶν

[1] πλὴν added by Bernhardy.
[2] So Dindorf (*bis*): συνήχθησαν O.

accusing the inhabitants of initiating hostilities, pillaged the temple; but though he amassed much wealth he speedily received meet punishment from the gods.[1]

16. Philip upbraided the Thessalians for reviling 185 B.C. their former masters now that by the favour of Rome they had unexpectedly gained their freedom. They were not aware, he said, that the Macedonian sun had not yet altogether set. This sally led those who heard it to suspect that Philip intended to make war on Rome, and the commissioners,[2] in a rage, decreed that Philip should be allowed to hold no city save those in Macedonia.

17. As regards Peloponnesian affairs,[3] the Achaean League having convened in general assembly, the Roman envoys were introduced. They stated that the senate was displeased at the dismantling of the Lacedaemonian fortifications, an act that the Achaean League had carried out when it gained control of Sparta and enrolled the Lacedaemonians in the League. Next the envoys of Eumenes were introduced, who brought with them a gift of twenty talents, out of which the king thought payment should be made to the members of the Achaean assembly. The Achaeans, however, rejecting an offer of money

[1] Cp. Book 28. 3.
[2] The subject is omitted in the text. As a result of complaints that Philip was not observing the conditions of the peace, a Commission of Three was sent out to settle the matter; the hearings were held at Tempe. For the context of Philip's remark see Livy, 39. 26.
[3] As noted by A. Aymard, *Les Assemblées de la confédération achaienne* (1938), 156, n. 4, this passage depends directly upon Polybius, 22. 7-9; the major discrepancies he charges (perhaps too severely) to the carelessness of Diodorus himself, rather than to his excerptor.

χρημάτων ἀποδοκιμάσαντες[1] *οὐ προσεδέξαντο τὴν δωρεάν. ἧκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ Σελεύκου πρέσβεις τὴν προγεγενημένην εἰς*[2] *τὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν βασιλέα συμμαχίαν ἀνανεούμενοι. οἱ δὲ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀνενεώσαντο καὶ τὴν δωρεὰν προσεδέξαντο.*

(*Const. Exc.* 1, pp. 400-401.)

18. *Ὅτι ὁ Φιλοποίμην ὁ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν στρατηγὸς ἀνὴρ ἐγεγόνει φρονήσει καὶ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς διαφέρων, πάντα τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον πεπολιτευμένος ἀμέμπτως. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν στρατηγίας ἠξιώθη, τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἡγούμενος, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς κοινὸν ηὔξηκὼς τὴν Ἀχαιῶν συμπολιτείαν, πρός τε τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἡμερώτατα πολιτευόμενος καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀποδοχῆς τετευχώς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ βίου καταστροφῆς ἀγνώμονι τύχῃ συγκεχρημένος. ἀλλ' ὅμως μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ὡσπερεί τινι θείᾳ προνοίᾳ τὰς ἰσοθέους*[3] *τιμὰς ἠλλάξατο τῶν κατὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἀπηντηκότων ἀκληρημάτων. χωρὶς δὲ τῶν*[4] *κοινῇ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καταψηφισθέντων*[5] *εἰς τιμὴν τἀνδρὸς ἡ πατρὶς ἱδρύσατο βωμὸν*[6] *καὶ . . . τοῦ*[7] *βουθυτεῖν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐγκώμιά τε καὶ ὕμνους κατέδειξεν ᾄδειν τοὺς νέους.*

19. *Ὅτι ὁ Ἀννίβας στρατηγικῇ συνέσει καὶ*

[1] So Ursinus: *ἀποκομίσαντες* O. [2] *πρὸς* Dindorf[4].
[3] So Valesius: *εἰς θεοὺς* P.
[4] *τῶν* added by Salmasius.
[5] So Valesius: *κατεψηφίσθη τῶν* P.
[6] *βωμὸν* added by Reiske. Nock suggests *μνῆμα* as a possible alternative (cp. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*[3], 624).
[7] *τοῦ*] Nock suggests *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ.*

as unbecoming, refused to accept the gift. Envoys also came from Seleucus,[1] seeking to renew the alliance that the Achaeans had had with King Antiochus. The assembly renewed the alliance and accepted his gift.

18. Philopoemen,[2] the general of the Achaean League, was a man of outstanding attainments, intellectual, military, and moral alike, and his lifelong political career was irreproachable throughout. Time and again he was preferred to the office of general, and for forty years he guided the affairs of state. More than anyone else he advanced the general welfare of the Achaean confederacy, for he not only made it his policy to treat the common man kindly, but also by force of character won the esteem of the Romans. Yet in the final scene of life he found Fortune unkind. After his death, however, as if by some divine Providence he obtained honours equal to those paid the gods, in compensation for the misfortunes that attended his demise. In addition to the decrees in his honour voted by the Achaeans jointly, his native city set up an altar, (instituted) an annual sacrifice to him, and appointed hymns and praises of his exploits to be sung by the young men of the city.[3]

19. Hannibal, who stands first among all Cartha-

[1] Seleucus IV Philopator, who came to the throne in 187 B.C. Polybius (22. 9. 13) states that his offer of a fleet of ships was, for the present, declined.
[2] Diodorus, following Polybius, 23. 12-14, marks the nearly simultaneous deaths of Philopoemen, Hannibal, and Scipio Africanus with set eulogies of the three men. Philopoemen died in 182, Hannibal in 183 or 182, and Scipio in 184 B.C.
[3] The actual decree of Megalopolis ordaining these honours is in part preserved (see critical note).

μεγέθει πράξεων πάντων Καρχηδονίων πεπρωτευκὼς οὐδέποτε στάσιν ἔσχεν ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει πλεῖστον διεστῶτα καὶ διαλέκτοις πολυφώνοις διειλημμένα διὰ τῆς ἰδίας προνοίας ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ συμφωνίᾳ διετήρησεν. ὁμοίως δὲ τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν[1] εἰωθότων διὰ τὰς τυχούσας αἰτίας ἀφίστασθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, οὐδεὶς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἐτόλμησε. μεγάλας δὲ δυνάμεις ἀεὶ τρέφων οὐδέποτε χρημάτων οὐδὲ τροφῆς ἠπόρησε, καὶ τὸ πάντων παραδοξότατον, οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευόμενοι τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν τῆς πολιτικῆς εὐνοίας οὐκ[2] ἀπελείφθησαν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ διήνεγκαν. τοιγαροῦν καλῶς ἄρχων τῶν στρατιωτῶν καλὰς καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐπετελέσατο. πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους πόλεμον ἐξενέγκας ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη σχεδὸν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπόρθησεν, ἀήττητος δὲ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς μάχαις ἐγένετο· τηλικαύταις δὲ καὶ τοσαύταις πράξεσι[3] τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμόνας ἐνίκησεν ὥστε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κατακοπτομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μηδένα ποτὲ τολμᾶν ἔτι κατὰ στόμα μάχεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. πολλὰς μὲν πόλεις δοριαλώτους κατέκαιε, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔθνη πολυανθρωπίᾳ διαφέροντα σπανίζειν ἐποίησεν ἀνδρῶν. καὶ τὰς περιβοήτους πράξεις ἐπετελέσατο πολιτικοῖς μὲν τελέσμασι, δυνάμεσι δὲ μισθοφόροις καὶ συμμαχικαῖς[4] παμμιγέσι,[5] καὶ τῶν[6] διὰ τὴν συμφωνίαν δυσυποστάτων περιεγένετο διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀγχινοίας

[1] So Hertlein, Dindorf⁴: ὁμοεθνῶν P.
[2] οὐκ added by Valesius.
[3] πράξεσι] παρατάξεσι Dindorf⁴.
[4] τελέσμασι . . . συμμαχικαῖς] So Wifstrand: τελέσμασι καὶ δυνάμεσι, μισθοφόροις δὲ καὶ συμμάχοις P. Hertlein suggests τελέσμασι καὶ δαπανήμασι.
[5] So Dindorf: παμμεγεθέσι P.
[6] τῶν added by Dindorf.

ginians in strategic skill and in the magnitude of his achievements, never at any time experienced disaffection among his troops; on the contrary his wise foresight enabled him to maintain in concord and harmony elements that were by birth set widely apart and that were divided by the wide variety of tongues spoken. Likewise, though it is the common practice of alien troops to desert to the enemy on slight provocation, under his command no one ventured to do this. He always maintained a large army, yet never ran short of money or provisions. Most extraordinary of all, the aliens who served with him did not fall short of the citizens in their affection for him, but even far surpassed them. Naturally, therefore, his good control of his troops produced good results. Engaging in war the strongest military power in the world, he ravaged Italy for some seventeen years and remained undefeated in all his battles. So many and great were the actions in which he defeated the rulers of the world, that the casualties inflicted by him prevented anyone from being bold enough ever to face him in open battle. Many were the cities that he captured and put to the torch, and though the peoples of Italy were outstanding in numbers, he made them know a dearth of men. These world-renowned exploits he achieved at public expense, to be sure, yet with forces that were a miscellaneous collection of mercenaries and allies; and though his opponents, by virtue of sharing a common language, were hard to withstand, his personal shrewdness and his capacity as a general gave him

καὶ στρατηγικῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ὅτι καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ὁ νοῦς, οὕτως ἐπὶ στρατεύματος ὁ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων ποιεῖ τὰ κατορθώματα.

20. Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων νέος ὢν παντελῶς τοῖς[1] κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀνελπίστως ἐχρήσατο καταπολεμήσας τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, τὴν δὲ πατρίδα κινδυνεύουσαν ἐξείλετο τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων. τὸν γὰρ ἀήττητον Ἀννίβαν διὰ τῆς ἐπινοίας ἠνάγκασεν ἄνευ μάχης καὶ κινδύνων ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκχωρῆσαι. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρείας τε καὶ στρατηγίας μεγάλῃ παρατάξει τὸν ἀνίκητον γεγενημένον Ἀννίβαν καταπολεμήσας ἥττησε τὴν Καρχηδόνα.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 273-274.)

21. Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πράξεων βαρύτερος ἐφαίνετο τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἀξιώματος. κατηγορούμενος γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν δεινῷ[2] θανάτῳ, παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον τοῦτο μόνον εἶπεν ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις οὐ πρέπει κατ' αὐτοῦ φέρειν ψῆφον, δι' ὃν καὶ[3] οἱ κατήγοροι ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσι λέγειν μετὰ παρρησίας. τούτου δὲ ῥηθέντος ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἅπας ἐντραπεὶς τὸ βάρος τοῦ λόγου παραχρῆμα ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπεχώρησεν, ὁ δὲ κατήγορος μόνος ἀπολειφθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καταφρονηθείς. πάλιν δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ χρείας ἐμπεσούσης[4] χρημάτων καὶ τοῦ ταμίου οὐ[5] φάσκοντος ἀνοίξειν, αὐτὸς ..ν..χη τὰς κλεῖς παρέλαβεν ὡς τοῦτο πράξων[6]· αὐτὸς γὰρ καὶ τοῦ κλείειν τοὺς ταμίας

[1] τοῖς added by Reiske. [2] ὑπὸ τῶν δείνων Madvig. [3] δι' ὃν καὶ Post: διῆς V, δι' οὗ Mai.

success against them. All may read the lesson that the commander is to an army what the mind is the body and is responsible for its success.

20. Scipio, while still a very young man, handled affairs in Spain surprisingly well and vanquished the Carthaginians; and he rescued his country, which was then in dire jeopardy. For that Hannibal, whom no one had ever defeated, he forced by artful planning, without battle or risk, to withdraw from Italy. And in the end, by the use of a bold strategy he overcame the hitherto unconquered Hannibal in pitched battle, and thus brought Carthage to her knees.

21. Because of his great achievements Scipio wielded more influence than seemed compatible with the dignity of the state. Once, for example, being charged with an offence punishable by a painful death,[1] he said only, when it was his turn to speak, that it ill behooved Romans to cast a vote against the man to whom his very accusers owed their enjoyment of the right to speak freely. At these words the whole populace, shamed by the force of his remark, left the meeting at once, and his accuser, deserted and alone, returned home discredited. On another occasion, at a meeting of the senate, when funds were needed and the quaestor refused to open the treasury, Scipio took over the keys to do it himself, saying that it was thanks to him that the

[1] To this point the text seems to be the work of the excerptor, and we cannot therefore be certain that the criticism of Scipio was part of the original.

---

[4] So Mai: the text is now illegible; Boissevain suggests ποτε οὔσης (cp. Polybius, 23. 14. 5).
[5] οὐ added by Mai.
[6] πράξων read by Herwerden; πράξειν Mai; πραξ.. Boissevain.

ὑπάρχειν αἴτιος. πάλιν δέ τινος λόγον αὐτὸν ἀπαιτοῦντος ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ χρημάτων ὧν ἔλαβεν εἰς τὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν δαπάνας, ὡμολόγησε μὲν ἔχειν τὸν λογισμόν, ἀπεῖπεν δὲ μὴ ἀποδώσειν· οὐ γὰρ ὀφείλειν[1] τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως ὑπὸ τὸν ἐξετασμὸν πίπτειν. ἐπικειμένου δὲ τοῦ κατηγόρου πέμψας ἐπὶ[2] τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκόμισεν ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον τὸ βιβλίον καὶ κατασπαράξας αὐτὸ τῷ κατηγόρῳ προσέταξε ψῆφον ἐκ τούτων προστιθέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους συγκλητικοὺς ἤρετο[3] πῶς τῶν δεδαπανημένων τρισχιλίων ταλάντων τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτοῦσι, τῶν δὲ μυρίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ὧν παρὰ Ἀντιόχου λαμβάνουσι λόγον οὐκ ἀπαιτοῦσιν, οὐδὲ λογίζονται πῶς ὑφ' ἕνα σχεδὸν καιρὸν οὐ μόνον Ἰβηρίας καὶ Λιβύης ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας κυριεύουσιν. ὧν ῥηθέντων διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς παρρησίας οὔθ' ὁ κατήγορος οὔτε τῶν συνέδρων οὐδεὶς ἐφθέγξατο.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 363-364.)

Chaps. 22-27 : see below, after Chap. 29.

28. Ὅτι ἡ πόλις Κεμελετῶν ὑπὸ λῃστῶν καὶ δραπετῶν ᾠκισμένη τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἀνεδέξατο, πρέσβεις δὲ ἐξαπέστειλε πρὸς Φόλουιον[4]

[1] So Dindorf: ὀφείλει V.
[2] Dindorf[4] deletes ἐπὶ (cp. Polybius, 23. 14. 8).
[3] So Dindorf: εἴρετο V.
[4] So Dindorf (with Φολού-), after Mai's identification of Φ. as Fulvius: Φιλούιον (Φιλούιος) V.

[1] Polybius, 23. 14, says 15,000 talents, *i.e.* the total amount of the war indemnity. The incident in the senate is probably to be dated to 187 B.C., in connection with the attacks of the two Petillii on the Scipios: cp. Livy, 38. 50-55.

quaestors were in fact able to lock it. On still another occasion, when someone in the senate demanded from him an accounting of the monies he had received to maintain his troops, he acknowledged that he had the account but refused to render it, on the ground that he ought not to be subjected to scrutiny on the same basis as others. When his accuser pressed the demand, he sent to his brother, had the book brought into the senate chamber, and after tearing it to bits bade his accuser add up the reckoning from the pieces. Then, turning to the other senators, he asked why they demanded an account of the three thousand talents that had been expended, but did not demand an account of the ten thousand five hundred [1] talents that they were receiving from Antiochus, and did not even consider how they came to be masters, almost in an instant, of Spain, Libya, and Asia too. He said no more, but the authority that went with his plain speaking silenced both his accuser and the rest of the senate.

28. The city of the Cemeletae, a nest of brigands 182 or
and fugitives, accepted the challenge of Rome.[2] 181 B.C.
They dispatched envoys to Fulvius, demanding in

and (for the date) Broughton, *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, I, p. 370, n. 4.

[2] Dindorf's arrangement has been modified by transferring chapters 28 and 29 to this point. The present arrangement is equally consistent with the order of the fragments in the Constantinian collections, and improves the chronological sequence. Q. Fulvius Q. f. Flaccus (the consul of 179 B.C.) was sent as praetor to Hither Spain in 182 and remained there until 180 B.C. For the present story (not in Livy) see Appian, *Hisp.* 42, who calls the city Complega. The possibility raised by Dindorf, that the episode might belong to Fulvius' Ligurian campaign of 179 B.C. (the place being identified as Cemenelum), need no longer be considered.

ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τῶν τεθνηκότων αἰτοῦσα σάγον καὶ ἐγχειρίδιον ἔτι δὲ ἵππον· εἰ δὲ μή, καταπολεμήσειν ἠπείλει. ὁ δὲ Φόλουιος[1] ἐντυχὼν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἶπε μὴ κακοπαθεῖν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἥξειν καὶ φθάσειν τὴν ἔξοδον. τὰς δὲ ἐπαγγελίας βεβαιῶσαι βουλόμενος παραχρῆμα ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκ ποδὸς ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν.

29. Ὅτι τῶν φίλων τινὸς εἰπόντος Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ τί τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας οὔσης αὐτοῦ δικαίως ἀφροντιστεῖ, πολλὰ περὶ τούτων ἔφησεν αὐτῷ μέλειν.[2] ὑπειπόντος[3] δὲ τοῦ προσομιλοῦντος πόθεν εὐπορήσει χρημάτων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὁ βασιλεὺς δείξας τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν, Ὁρᾷς τοὺς ἐμοὺς θησαυροὺς περιπατοῦντας.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 364.)

Chap. 30: see below, after Chap. 27.

22. Ὅτι καταντησάντων εἰς Ῥώμην τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλέων πρεσβευτῶν ἀποσταλέντων οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄτταλον βασιλεῖς μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχον. ἀπάντησις γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο μεγαλοπρεπὴς καὶ ξένια καὶ τἆλλα φιλάνθρωπα[4] διαφέροντα. σφόδρα γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς οὗτοι φιλορώμαιοι καθεστῶτες καὶ πάντα τῇ συγκλήτῳ πειθαρχοῦντες, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς παραβάλλοντας Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα ὑποδεχόμενοι φιλανθρωπότατα, μεγίστης ἀποδοχῆς[5] ἠξιοῦντο. δι' ὧν καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων ἁπάντων ἡ

[1] See preceding note.
[2] αὐτῷ μέλειν Dindorf: αὐτῶι μέλλειν V.
[3] So Walton: ὑποπεσόντος V; ὑπολαβόντος Herwerden.
[4] So Ursinus: φιλανθρωπία O.
[5] μεγάλως after ἀποδοχῆς deleted by Reiske.

the name of each of the men who had been killed a cloak, a dagger, and a horse; failing this, they threatened war to the finish. Fulvius, on encountering the delegation, bade them spare their pains: he would himself proceed against their city and be there before their expedition could set out. Wishing to make good his word, he straightway broke camp and marched against the barbarians, following close on the heels of the envoys.

29. King Ptolemy,[1] being asked by one of his courtiers why he neglected Coelê Syria though it was rightfully his, replied that he was giving good heed to the matter. When the friend continued and asked where he would find sufficient money for the campaign, the king pointed to his friends and said: "There, walking about, are my money-bags." 181/0 B.C.

22. On the arrival at Rome of the Asiatic princes who had been sent as envoys, Attalus and his entourage[2] received a warm welcome: they were met and escorted into the city in style, presented with rich gifts, and shown every courtesy. These princes were, indeed, steadfast friends of Rome, and since they were in all things submissive to the senate, and were, moreover, most generous and hospitable to such Romans as visited their kingdom, they were granted the finest possible reception. For their sake

[1] Ptolemy V Epiphanes. Coelê Syria had been in the hands of the Seleucids since 200 B.C. St. Jerome (*in Dan.* 11. 20), quoting the story from Porphyrius, adds that the remark led to the poisoning of the king by those who feared the confiscation of their wealth.

[2] Attalus, who was to succeed his older brother Eumenes II on the throne of Pergamum in 160/59 B.C., was accompanied on this visit by his younger brothers (Polybius, 24. 5). The war between Pergamum and Pharnaces of Pontus raged from 183 to 179 B.C.

σύγκλητος ἀκούσασα καὶ μάλιστα σπεύδουσα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐμένη βασιλεῦσι χαρίζεσθαι προσηνῆ τούτοις τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἐποιήσατο. ἀπεφήνατο γὰρ ἀποστελεῖν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου πρέσβεις τοὺς ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου συλλύσοντας[1] τὸν πρὸς Φαρνάκην πόλεμον. (*Const. Exc.* 1, p. 401.)

23. Ὅτι Λεώκριτος ὁ τοῦ Φαρνάκου στρατηγὸς συνεχεῖς προσβολὰς ποιούμενος ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ἐν τῷ Τίῳ[2] μισθοφόρους τὴν μὲν πόλιν παραδοῦναι, αὐτοὺς δὲ ὑποσπόνδους προπεμφθῆναι μετὰ ἀσφαλείας. τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων τότε μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας προπεμπομένων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις ἠδικηκότων τὸν Φαρνάκην, ὁ Λεώκριτος ἐντολὰς ἔχων παρὰ τοῦ Φαρνάκου πάντας ἀνελεῖν παρεσπόνδησε τοὺς μισθοφόρους· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Τίου[2] μετάστασιν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθετο κατὰ τὴν[3] ὁδοιπορίαν καὶ πάντας κατηκόντισεν.

24. Ὅτι ὁ Σέλευκος ἀξιόλογον δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν προῆγεν ὡς ὑπερβησόμενος τὸν Ταῦρον ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τοῦ Φαρνάκου· ἔννοιαν δὲ λαβὼν τῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τῷ πατρὶ γενομένων συνθηκῶν, καθ' ἃς οὐκ ἐξῆν . . .

25. Ὅτι οἱ τὰ δεινὰ τολμήσαντες καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἀνελόντες οὐκ ἐξέφυγον τὴν τοῦ δικαίου δαιμονίου τιμωρίαν,[4] ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐκ Ῥώμης τὰς ψευδεῖς διαβολὰς πλασάμενοι μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον τῷ βασιλεῖ προσκόψαντες ἀνῃρέθησαν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος

[1] So Reiske: *συλλύοντας* O. [2] So Valesius: *πίω* (*πίου*) P.
[3] *κατὰ τὴν* Salmasius, Valesius: *κατὴν* P.
[4] *τὴν . . . τιμωρίαν*] Kallenberg suggests *τὴν ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου δικαίαν τιμωρίαν*.

the senate gave audience to all the envoys, and showing the greatest concern to please Eumenes, returned them a favourable response, announcing that a senatorial commission would be sent out that would settle at all costs the conflict with Pharnaces.

23. Leocritus, the general of Pharnaces, by constant assaults at last forced the mercenaries in Tius[1] to surrender the city and, under terms of a truce that assured them safe conduct, to leave under escort. These mercenaries, who were now quitting the city in accordance with the agreement, had in times past wronged Pharnaces; and Leocritus, who had orders from Pharnaces to put them all to death, now violated the truce, and on their departure from Tius set upon them on the way and shot them down one and all with darts.

24. Seleucus, leading an army of considerable size, advanced as if intending to cross the Taurus in support of Pharnaces[2]; but on taking note of the treaty that his father had made with the Romans, the terms of which forbade . . .

25. Those who perpetrated this crime and murdered 180 B.C.
Demetrius did not escape the avenging punishment of divine justice. On the contrary, the men[3] who had fabricated the false accusations and brought them from Rome soon after fell foul of the king and were put to death. Philip himself for the remainder

[1] This town on the Black Sea, recently wrested by Pergamum from Bithynia, was the original home of the Attalids. The precise date of the incident recorded here is uncertain.
[2] Possibly in return for a promise of 500 talents: cp. Polybius, *fr. inc.* 96 (Büttner-Wobst).
[3] Apelles and Philocles. See Livy, 40. 20; 23; 54-55. Philip died in 179 B.C.

τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ὀνειροπολούμενος καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν τῆς εἰς τὸν εὐγενέστατον υἱὸν ἀσεβείας ταραττόμενος οὐδὲ διετῆ χρόνον ἐπεβίωσε, τῇ δὲ λύπῃ ἀδιορθώτως συνεχόμενος κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἀρχιτέκτων Περσεὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καταπολεμηθεὶς καὶ φυγὼν εἰς Σαμοθρᾴκην, ἄκυρον ἔσχε τὴν τῶν ἁγνοτάτων θεῶν ἱκεσίαν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τετολμημένης ἀσεβείας.

26. Ὅτι Τιβέριος Γράκχος[1] ἐξαπέλεκυς ὢν στρατηγὸς ἐνεργῶς διῴκει τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον. οὗτος γὰρ νέος ὢν τὴν ἡλικίαν πάντων ἡλικιωτῶν διέφερεν ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ φρονήσει, θαυμαζόμενος δὲ ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καὶ μεγάλας τοῦ μέλλοντος ὑποφαίνων ἐλπίδας πολὺ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν προεῖχε δόξῃ.

27. Ὅτι ὁ Αἰμίλιος ὁ ὕπατος ὁ καὶ πάτρων γεγονὼς ἦν εὐγενής τε καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπής, ἔτι δὲ συνέσει πολὺ διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων. διόπερ ἡ μὲν πατρὶς αὐτὸν ἁπάσαις ταῖς ἐπιδόξοις ἀρχαῖς ἐτίμησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔν τε τῷ ζῆν διετέλεσεν ἐπαινούμενος καὶ τῆς μετὰ θάνατον εὐφημίας προενοήθη μετὰ τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντος.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 274-275.)

Chaps. 28-29: see above, after Chap. 21.

30. Ὅτι Περσεὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχων προαίρεσιν τῷ

[1] So Salmasius, Valesius: βράγχος P.

[1] The "Great Gods" of the Samothracian mysteries, similar to and often identified with the Cabiri. Perseus sought refuge on the island in 168 B.C., after Pydna.

[2] Against the Celtiberians in Hither Spain. Gracchus,

of his life was haunted by dreams and by terrors of a guilty conscience because of the impious crime against the noblest of sons. He survived less than two years, succumbing to the burden of an incurable sorrow. Perseus, finally, the chief contriver of all the villainy, was defeated by the Romans and fled to Samothrace, but his claim as a suppliant of the Most Pure Gods[1] was invalidated by the monstrous impiety that he had perpetrated against his brother.

26. Tiberius Gracchus, the praetor, prosecuted the war[2] with vigour. Indeed, while still a young man he surpassed all his contemporaries in courage and intelligence, and since his abilities commanded admiration and showed great hopes for the future, he enjoyed a reputation that greatly distinguished him among his contemporaries.

27. Aemilius[3] the consul, who also became *patronus*, 180-175 B.C.
was a man of noble birth and handsome appearance, and was, in addition, gifted with superior intelligence. As a result his country honoured him with all its high magistracies, while he, for his part, continued throughout his lifetime to win men's praise, and provided for his own good repute after death along with the welfare of his country.

30. The political aims of Perseus were the same as 179 B.C.

the father of the famous tribunes, was praetor in 180 and propraetor in 179 B.C., succeeding Q. Fulvius Flaccus (see note to chap. 28) in the Spanish command.

[3] Probably M. Aemilius Lepidus, who became pontifex maximus in 180 and censor in 179 B.C., and whose personal beauty is noted also by Polybius (16. 34. 6). A family legend (cp. *tutor reg(is)* on a denarius of *c.* 67 B.C. and Justin, 30. 3. 3-4, Val. Max. 6. 6. 1, Tac. *Ann.* 2. 67) arose that he acted as guardian of a child-Ptolemy (identified by Justin as Epiphanes, in 200 B.C.). Our text, where in any case a genitive is lacking after πάτρων, may refer to this story.

πατρὶ καὶ ταύτην σπεύδων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀγνοεῖσθαι πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Ῥώμην τοὺς ἀνανεωσομένους τὴν πατρικὴν φιλίαν. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσθανομένη τὴν φιλίαν ὅμως ἀνενεώσατο, τὸν ἐξαπατῶντα ὁμοίως ἐξαπατῶσα.

31. Ὅτι τὰς ἐπιμελείας[1] οὐχ οὕτω τῷ[2] διὰ τῶν ὅπλων φόβῳ λαμβάνειν αὔξησιν ὡς τῇ πρὸς τοὺς κρατηθέντας μετριότητι. Θόαντα γάρ τινα ἔκδοτον ἡ σύγκλητος λαβοῦσα καὶ μεγαλοψύχως ἐνέγκασα τὸν ἄνδρα τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπέλυσεν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 364.)

32. Ὅτι Ἀντίοχος προσφάτως παρειληφὼς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνεστήσατο βίον παράλογον καὶ ἀσυνήθη τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων ὑπάγων[3] λάθρᾳ τῆς θεραπείας περιῄει τὴν πόλιν ἀλύων ὅπου τύχοι δεύτερος ἢ τρίτος· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο μετὰ δημοτῶν ἀνθρώπων συγκαταρριπτεῖν οἷ τύχοι[4] καὶ μετὰ τῶν παρεπιδημούντων ξένων τῶν[5] εὐτελεστάτων συμπίνειν. καθόλου δ' εἴ τινας[6] τῶν νέων αἴσθοιτο ἀφ' ἡμέρας μετ' ἀλλήλων γενομένους, ἐξαίφνης ἐπὶ κῶμον παρεγίνετο[7] μετὰ κερατίου καὶ συμφωνίας, ὥστε διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς μὲν φεύγειν, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον σιωπᾶν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον

1 ἐπιμελείας] ἡγεμονίας Dindorf, ἐπικρατείας Post.
2 τῷ added by Dindorf.
3 So Salmasius: ὑπάτων P.
4 οἷ τύχοι Wesseling: εἰ τυχὸν P.
5 τῶν added by Herwerden (cp. Polybius, 26. 1).

those of his father,[1] but since he wished to keep this from the Romans he sent ambassadors to Rome to renew his father's treaty of alliance and friendship. The senate, though aware of nearly all that was happening, nevertheless renewed the alliance, thereby deceiving the deceiver on his own ground.

31. Our concerns are advanced less by fear and force of arms than by moderation towards the defeated. So, for example, when Thoas was handed over[2] and the senate had him in their power, they behaved magnanimously and acquitted him on all charges.

32. Antiochus,[3] on first succeeding to the throne, 175 B.C.
embarked upon a quixotic mode of life foreign to other monarchs. To begin with, he would often slip out of the palace without informing his courtiers, and wander at random about the city with one or two companions. Next, he took pride in stooping to the company of common people, no matter where, and in drinking with visiting foreigners of the meanest stamp. In general, if he learned that any young men were forgathering at an early hour, he would suddenly appear at the party with a fife and other music, so that in their astonishment some of the commoners who were guests would take to their heels and others be struck dumb with fear. Finally, he would at times

1 Diodorus follows Polybius (22. 18) in ascribing to Philip the policy that led to the Third Macedonian War. On the embassy to Rome see Livy, 40. 58. 8.
2 By Antiochus III, see above, chap. 10.
3 Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who seized the throne in 175 B.C. The character sketch is taken from Polybius, 26. 1 and 1a; cp. also below, Book 31. 16.

6 So Valesius (cp. Polybius, *l.c.*): τινα P.
7 So Büttner-Wobst: παρεγένετο P.

τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα καταθέμενος περιεβάλλετο τήβενναν, καθάπερ ἦν ἑωρακὼς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοὺς μεταπορευομένους τὰς ἀρχάς, ἐνετύγχανέ τε τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἀσπαζόμενος καὶ περιπτύσσων ἕκαστον, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν παρακαλῶν φέρειν ἑαυτῷ τὴν ψῆφον ὡς ἀγορανόμῳ, ποτὲ δὲ ὡς δημάρχῳ· τυχὼν δὲ ἀρχῆς ἐκάθιζεν ἐπὶ δίφρον ἐλεφάντινον, καὶ καθὼς ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις ἔθιμον, διήκουε[1] τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμφισβητούντων[2] περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ συμβολαίων.[3] καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττε μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιστάσεως καὶ φιλοτιμίας ὥστε τοὺς χαριεστάτους ἄνδρας ἀπορεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀφέλειαν, οἱ δὲ ἀλογίαν, τινὲς δὲ μανίαν αὐτοῦ κατεγίνωσκον.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 275-276.)

33. Ὅτι τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς χρεωκοπίας κατὰ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ζηλωθείσης, καὶ πάσης πόλεως εἰς στάσεις καὶ ταραχὰς ἐμπιπτούσης, ἡ σύγκλητος ὑπέλαβεν ἐκ τοῦ Περσέως γεγονέναι τὴν σύγχυσιν,[4] καὶ ἀπελογίσατο τοῖς τοῦ Περσέως πρεσβευταῖς περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολύσειν αὐτὸν τῶν[5] ἐγκλημάτων, περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀβρουπόλιδος τοῦ Θρᾳκὸς ἐκ[6] τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβολῆς ἐκέλευσε διορθώσασθαι τὸν Περσέα τὸ γεγονός.

34. Ὅτι τοῦ Ἁρπάλου τοῦ Περσέως πρεσβευτοῦ σιωπήσαντος, ἡ σύγκλητος τὸν Εὐμένη ἐλεφαντίνῳ τιμήσασα δίφρῳ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιώσασα φιλοφρόνως, ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

(*Const. Exc.* 1, p. 401.)

[1] So Dindorf (cp. Polybius, *l.c.*): διηκούετο P.
[2] P repeats πρὸς ἀλλήλους after ἀμφισβητούντων.
[3] So Valesius (cp. συναλλαγμάτων, Polybius, *l.c.*): συμβολῶν P.
[4] So Ursinus: σύγκρισιν O.
[5] τῶν added by Dindorf.
[6] So Ursinus: καὶ O.

put off his royal garb, and wrapping himself in a toga, as he had seen candidates for office do at Rome, would accost the citizens, saluting and embracing them one by one, and ask them to give him their vote, now for the office of aedile, and again for that of tribune. Upon being elected, he would sit on an ivory chair, and in the Roman fashion listen to the opposing arguments in ordinary cases of contract. He did this with such close attention and zeal that all men of refinement were perplexed about him, some ascribing his behaviour to artless simplicity, others to folly, and some to madness.

33. The cancelling of debts in Aetolia was emulated 173 B.C.
in Thessaly, and factional strife and disorder broke out in every city. The senate assumed that Perseus was at the bottom of this turmoil, and reported to his envoys that while they would drop all the other charges against him, the expulsion of Abrupolis the Thracian from his kingdom was an act that, they insisted, Perseus must rectify.[1]

34. Harpalus, the ambassador of Perseus, made 172 B.C.
no reply. The senate, after allowing Eumenes the honour of an ivory curule chair and granting him other kindly marks of favour, dispatched him on his way to Asia.[2]

[1] On the significance of the Abrupolis incident see Polybius, 22. 18.
[2] For Eumenes' denunciation of Perseus before the senate see Livy, 42. 11-14.

2 Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τὴν κατὰ Εὐμένους εἰς τὸ Πέργαμον διαδοθείσης φήμης ὅτι τετελεύτηκεν Εὐμένης, Ἄτταλος ἐπεπλάκη τῇ βασιλίσσῃ προχειρότερον. οὐ μὴν Εὐμένης γε προσεποιήθη μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀνακάμψας, ἀλλὰ φιλοφρόνως ἀσπασάμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν διέμεινεν ἐν τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίᾳ. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 276.)

When, following the attempt upon Eumenes' life,[1] the rumour reached Pergamum that he was dead, Attalus made short work of wooing the queen. Yet Eumenes on his return took no notice, greeted his brother warmly, and was as friendly as before.

[1] At Delphi, on his return journey from Rome; cp. Livy, 42. 15-16.

7. 1. Ὅτι διασαφούντων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς Περσέα κατεστρατήγησαν ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων, ἐπεχείρησάν τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπαινεῖν αὐτούς. οὐ μὴν τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις ἤρεσκε τὸ γεγενημένον, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον μὴ πρέπειν Ῥωμαίοις μιμεῖσθαι Φοίνικας ὥστε δι' ἀπάτης ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἀρετῆς τῶν πολεμίων περιγίνεσθαι. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 364.)

Chap. 7. 2: see below, after Chap. 6.

1. Ὅτι ἡ σύγκλητος αὐθημερὸν ἐψηφίσατο τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον καὶ τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐχρημάτισε μέν, ἀπόκρισιν δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔδωκε.[1] προσέταξε δὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἐν ἐκκλησίαις διαρρήδην ἀναγορεύειν[2]· τούς τε πρεσβευτὰς καὶ πάντας Μακεδόνας ἐκ μὲν Ῥώμης ἀπελθεῖν αὐθημερόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν ἡμέραις τριάκοντα.

2. Ὅτι ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς εἰδὼς τοὺς αὐτοῦ προγόνους ἐσχηκότας τὴν[3] Κοίλην Συρίαν παρασκευὰς ἐποιεῖτο μεγάλας ἀμφισβητῶν ταύτης· ἤλπιζέ τε[4] τὴν ἀδίκῳ πολέμῳ πρότερον

[1] So Dindorf: δέδωκεν O.
[2] So Wesseling: ἀπαγορεύειν O, Dindorf.
[3] τὴν Suidas, *s.v.* ἀμφισβητεῖν, omitted in O.
[4] τε] γὰρ Suidas, *l.c.*

[1] Cp. Livy, 42. 47. The episode evidently refers to the story that in order to gain time for Rome to prepare, Q.

7. 1. When the Roman (envoys) reported that 171 B.C.
they had outwitted Perseus without recourse to arms, some members of the senate made a move to praise them. The older men, however, were far from pleased with what had been done, and said it did not become Romans to ape the Phoenicians, nor to get the better of their enemies by knavery rather than by bravery.[1]

1. On the same day the senate approved a declaration of war against Perseus, and though it gave an audience to his envoys, made no reply to their statements. In addition the senate ordered the consuls to make solemn proclamation before assemblies of the people, bidding the envoys and all other Macedonians depart from Rome that very day and from Italy within thirty days.[2]

2. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, knowing that his an- 170/69 B.C.
cestors had held Coelê Syria, made great preparations for war in support of his claim, hoping that since it had been detached in times past through an unjust

Marcius Philippus persuaded Perseus to send one more embassy to Rome (Livy, 42. 38-43). The excerpt accordingly belongs here (or at the end of Book 29), before the outbreak of hostilities. On the embassy of Marcius and its relation to the conditional declaration of war (Livy, 42. 30. 10-11) see Walbank, *J.R.S.* 31 (1941), 82 ff.

[2] Cp. Polybius, 27. 6; Livy, 42. 48.

ἀνειμένην τότε δικαίως τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις ἀνακτήσεσθαι.[1] ἃ δὴ πυθόμενος ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς Ῥώμην πρέσβεις ἐντειλάμενος μαρτύρασθαι τὴν σύγκλητον ὅτι πολεμεῖν ἀδίκως ἐπιβάλλεται Πτολεμαῖος. ἐξαπέστειλε δὲ καὶ ὁ προειρημένος τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους καὶ διδάξοντας τὴν σύγκλητον ὅτι παρὰ πάντα τὰ δίκαια κρατεῖ τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας Ἀντίοχος ἑαυτοῦ προγονικῆς ὑπαρχούσης. ἐνετείλατο δὲ τά τε φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀνανεώσασθαι καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς Περσέα διαλύσεως πειραθῆναι. (*Const. Exc.* 1, pp. 401-402.)

3. Ὅτι ὁ Κότυς ὁ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεὺς ἦν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀνὴρ ἔμπρακτος ἐμφερόμενος[2] καὶ γνώμῃ διαφέρων, ἔν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις σπουδαῖος καὶ φιλίας ἄξιος. ἦν δὲ καὶ νήπτης καὶ σώφρων καθ' ὑπερβολήν, ἔτι δὲ τὸ μέγιστον, πάντων τῶν[3] τοῖς Θρᾳξὶ παρακολουθούντων κακῶν ἀλλοτριώτατος.

4. Ὅτι τὸ Χάλεστρον τὸ πολισμάτιον πολιορκήσας[4] ὁ Περσεὺς καὶ πάντας ἀποσφάξας, περὶ πεντακοσίους δὲ συμφυγόντων εἴς τινα τόπον ὀχυρὸν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ αἰτησαμένων ἀσφάλειαν, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀποθεμένοις τὰ ὅπλα σώζεσθαι. τῶν δὲ ποιησαμένων τὸ συγχωρηθέν, οἱ Μακεδόνες εἴτ' ἀφ'[5] ἑαυτῶν εἴτε καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάξαντος ἐπηκολούθησαν τοῖς λαβοῦσι τὴν πίστιν καὶ πάντας ἀπέσφαξαν.

[1] So Herwerden, Dindorf[4]: ἀνακτήσασθαι O.
[2] ἔμπρακτος ἐμφερόμενος] ἐμπράκτως ἐ. Valesius; Reiske would delete ἐμφερόμενος.
[3] τῶν added by Dindorf.

war he might now justly recover it on the same terms. Antiochus, learning of this, dispatched envoys to Rome bidding them call the senate to witness that Ptolemy, without just cause, was bent on making war. Ptolemy, however, also sent off envoys to speak in his defence, and to inform the senate that Coelê Syria had belonged to his forebears and that its subjection to Antiochus was contrary to all justice. He also instructed them to renew friendly relations with the Romans and to try to bring about peace with Perseus.[1]

3. Cotys, king of the Thracians, was a man who in matters of warfare moved with vigour and was superior in judgement, and who in other respects as well was responsible and deserving of friendship. He was abstinent and circumspect in the highest degree, and most important of all, was completely exempt from the besetting vices of the Thracian people.[2]

4. After the siege of the small township of Chalestrum[3] Perseus put all the inhabitants to death. About five hundred, however, having made good their escape under arms to a certain stronghold, requested an assurance of safe-conduct, and Perseus consented to spare their lives on condition that they laid down arms. They complied with the terms agreed on, but the Macedonians, whether of their own accord or under orders of the king, followed those who had received the assurance and put them all to death.

[1] Cp. Polybius, 27. 19 and 28. 1. The kings are Ptolemy VI Philometor, who had just come of age, and Antiochus IV Epiphanes.
[2] Cp. Polybius, 27. 12. Cotys, king of the Odrysae, was a staunch ally of Perseus.
[3] Unknown, perhaps Thracian or Dardanian.

[4] ἐκπολιορκήσας Dindorf[4]. [5] So Valesius: ἐφ' P.

5. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἤπειρον Χάροψ[1] υἱωνὸς[2] τοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντος προσηγορίαν καὶ[3] κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον πόλεμον ἐξαπεσταλκότος Φλαμενίνῳ τὸν ἡγησόμενον τὰς ἀνελπίστους διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀτραπούς, δι' ὧν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι παραδόξως πορευθέντες τῶν στενῶν ἐκράτησαν. τραφεὶς δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πάππου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν πολλοῖς τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐπεξενώθη. ὢν δὲ τολμηρὸς καὶ πονηρίᾳ διαφέρων τοὺς ἐνδοξοτάτους τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν διέβαλλε πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ψευδεῖς ἐπιρρίπτων αἰτίας, ὅπως ἅπαντας καταπληξάμενος τοὺς δυναμένους ἀντιπολιτεύεσθαι περιείη[4] κύριος ἁπάσης τῆς Ἠπείρου. διόπερ πρὸς Περσέα ἐξαπέστειλαν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι παραδώσειν τὴν Ἤπειρον. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 276-277.)

5a. Ὅτι Ὀστιλίου τοῦ ὑπάτου παραγενηθέντος ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς Ἤπειρον, Θεόδοτος καὶ Φιλόστρατος οἱ μάλιστα περσίζοντες ἐπεβάλοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδοῦναι τὸν ὕπατον. μεταπεμπομένων δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν Περσέα κατὰ τάχος, ὁ μὲν Ὀστίλιος[5] λαβὼν ὑποψίαν μετῆλθε νυκτός, ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς ὑστερηκὼς τῶν καιρῶν τῆς περὶ τὸν ὕπατον συλλήψεως ἀπέτυχεν. (*Const. Exc.* 3, p. 198.)

6. Ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐμένη τὴν τῶν Ἀβδηριτῶν πόλιν πολιορκοῦντες καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς βίας ἅλωσιν ἀπογνόντες διεπέμψαντο λάθρᾳ πρός τινα Πύθωνα τῇ δόξῃ πρωτεύοντα τῶν Ἀβδηριτῶν καὶ τὸ κυριεῦον μέρος διαφυλάττοντα διὰ δούλων ἰδίων

[1] So Valesius: *χάρος* P. [2] So Wesseling: *υἱὸς* P.

[3] *καὶ* added by Reiske.

[4] So Post: *καθαπερεὶ* P, *καθάπαξ εἴη* Madvig. Büttner-Wobst (after Reiske) reads *ᾖ πάσης* for *ἁπάσης*.

[5] *ὁ μὲν Ὀστίλιος* Feder, Müller: *ὁ δὲ ἀστλιος* S.

5. Charops of Epirus was the grandson [1] and namesake of that Charops who, during the war against Philip, had sent to Flamininus a guide to show him unexpected paths across the mountains, whereby the Romans, making a surprise advance, won control of the pass. Thanks to that grandfather's friendship with the Romans, the younger Charops was educated in Rome and formed ties of hospitality with many prominent men. He was, however, an arrant knave and adventurer, and set out to traduce to the Romans the men of Epirus who were held in highest esteem, hurling false charges against them in the hope that once he had confounded all who were capable of opposing him he might be left master of all Epirus. It was in consequence of this that they [2] now sent to Macedon, offering to deliver Epirus to Perseus. 170 B.C.

5a. Upon arrival of the consul Hostilius [3] in Epirus from Rome, Theodotus and Philostratus, the chief partisans of Perseus, plotted to betray him to the king. But while they were still urgently summoning Perseus, Hostilius, whose suspicions had been aroused, departed by night, and Perseus, arriving too late, failed to capture him.

6. During the siege of Abdera, Eumenes, despairing of carrying the city by storm, sent secretly to a certain Python, a man of the highest esteem among the Abderites, who with two hundred of his own

[1] So Polybius, 27. 15: the present text, which is clearly the work of the excerptor, says "son." The incident alluded to had occurred in 198 B.C.

[2] The Epirotes, led by the moderate Cephalus.

[3] A. Hostilius Mancinus. For the incident see Polybius, 27. 16.

καὶ ἀπελευθέρων διακοσίων. ψυχαγωγήσαντες οὖν αὐτὸν ἐπαγγελίαις διὰ τούτου παρεισήχθησαν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκυρίευσαν. ὁ δὲ τὴν πόλιν προδοὺς Πύθων μετρίας τυχὼν εὐεργεσίας, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνων τὴν τῆς πατρίδος κατασκαφὴν ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ καὶ μεταμελείᾳ τὸν καταλειπόμενον ἐβίωσε χρόνον. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 277.)

Chap. 7. 1: see above, before Chap. 1.

7. 2. Ὅτι Ἀνδρόνικος, ὁ τὸν παῖδα Σελεύκου δολοφονήσας καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸς ἀναιρεθείς, εἰς ἀσεβῆ καὶ δεινὴν πρᾶξιν ἑκουσίως ἐπιδοὺς ἑαυτὸν τῷ
3 παθόντι τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης ἐκοινώνησεν. οἱ γὰρ δυνάσται συνήθεις εἰσὶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ταῖς τῶν φίλων ῥύεσθαι συμφοραῖς.

8. Ὅτι προνοητικῶς τοῦ συνεδρίου προνοησαμένου καὶ[1] κατὰ πάντα εὐκαίρως τῆς τῶν φιλανθρώπων μεταθέσεως[2] ἐπιλαβομένου. τοῦ γὰρ Περσέως ἀντοφθαλμοῦντος παραδόξως καὶ τὸν πόλεμον διαφέροντος ἰσόρροπον ἐμετεωρίζοντο πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀεί τι καινοποιοῦσα τοὺς Ἕλληνας φιλανθρώπως ἀνθεῖλκε καὶ παρ' ἕκαστον ἐπελαμβάνετο τῆς τῶν ὄχλων εὐνοίας. ἃ[3] τίς ἂν ἡγεμονίας ἀνὴρ πραγματικὸς ὀρεγόμενος οὐκ ἂν ζηλώσειεν, ἢ τίς εὖ φρονῶν συγγραφεὺς παραλείποι τοῦ συνεδρίου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ἀνεπισήμαντον; πᾶς[4] γὰρ ἂν εἰκότως διαλάβοι Ῥωμαίους τοῦ πλείστου μέρους τῆς οἰκουμένης κεκρατηκέναι τοιούτοις χρω-

[1] καὶ added by Herwerden. Post suggests the deletion of προνοησαμένου. [2] μεταθέσεως] μεταδόσεως Dindorf.
[3] So Boissevain: ον V, ἣν Dindorf.
[4] So Dindorf: πῶς V.

slaves and freedmen was defending the key position. By beguiling him with promises they gained entrance within the walls through his assistance and took the city. Python, the traitor, though moderately rewarded, had ever present to his mind's eye the vision of his country's devastation, and lived out the remainder of his days in despair and regret.[1]

7. 2-3. Andronicus, who assassinated the son of 169 B.C.
Seleucus and who was in turn put to death, willingly lent himself to an impious and terrible crime, only to share the same fate as his victim.[2] For it is the practice of potentates to save themselves from danger at the expense of their friends.

8. Prudently and always alert to the needs of the moment, the senate took in hand a revision of its benevolences. For when Perseus, proving unexpectedly defiant, prolonged the war to a stalemate, many Greeks had high hopes. The senate, however, by constantly renewed acts of generosity towards the Greeks exerted a contrary influence, and on each occasion made a bid for the support of the masses. What man of affairs who aspires to leadership could fail to admire this? What intelligent historian would pass over without comment the sagacity of the senate? Indeed, one might reasonably conclude that Rome's mastery over most of mankind was achieved by means of just such refinements of policy.

[1] L. Hortensius, the Roman praetor who participated in the capture of Abdera (so Niese, *Gesch. griech. u. mak. Staaten*, 3. 129, n. 7), was later censured by the senate for his conduct (Livy, 43. 4).

[2] 2 Macc. 4. 34-38 gives the murder of Onias, the High Priest, as the immediate occasion for Andronicus' downfall. On the son of Seleucus see Bevan in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 8. 497, 503-504 and 713-714, with the reservations of Aymard, *Aegyptus*, 32 (1952), 93-94, on his status as king.

μένους διαβουλίοις. τοιγαροῦν περιενεχθῆναι[1] πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς ἁρμοζόντως, καὶ τινὰ μὲν περιορᾶν, τινὰ δὲ ἑκουσίως παρακούειν, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν τὴν ἄλογον ὁρμὴν τοῦ θυμοῦ παρακατέχειν, τοτὲ δὲ ἀφέμενον τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως τοὺς καταδεεστέρους θεραπεύειν χρήσιμον προκατασκευαζόμενον ἔργον, ἐστὶν κατ' ἀρετὴν ἀνδρὸς παντελείου[2] καὶ συνεδρίου κατὰ πάντα πραγματικοῦ καὶ πόλεως ἀγαθῆς καὶ νοῦν ἐχούσης. ἃ δὴ τότε Ῥωμαίων ἡ σύγκλητος ποιοῦσα καθαπερεὶ τινὰς τύπους καὶ ὑποδείγματα καταλέλοιπε τοῖς ἡγεμονίας ἀντεχομένοις καὶ δυναμένοις παραπλάσασθαι πῶς τὰ συμπίπτοντα δεῖ χειρίζειν κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις.

9. Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς διεπέμπετο πρὸς Γέντιον τὸν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλέα μέγιστον ὄντα τῶν τότε δυναστῶν περὶ κοινοπραγίας. τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ἐθέλειν μὲν πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ἀπορεῖν δὲ χρημάτων, πάλιν διεπέμπετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐθελοκωφῶν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων. τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν λαβὼν ἀπόκρισιν τὸ τρίτον ἀπέστειλε, νοῶν μὲν τὴν τοῦ Γεντίου διάνοιαν, οὐ[3] προσποιούμενος δέ, ἔφησε κατὰ νοῦν γενομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ εὐδοκοῦντα ποιήσειν.

2 Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς οὐδέπω βουλόμενος προέσθαι χρήματα πάλιν ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς Γέντιον, παρασιωπῶν μὲν περὶ τοῦ δώσειν παραυτίκα χρήματα, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων συντέλειαν μεγάλας ὑποφαίνων ἐλπίδας· ὥστε διαπορῆσαί τις

[1] τοιγαροῦν περιενεχθῆναι] τὸ γὰρ συμπεριενεχθῆναι Herwerden.

[2] So Post: πάντα τελείου V. Dindorf deletes πάντα.

This justifies the observation that harmonious adaptation to all occasions—connivance at some things, the turning of a deaf ear to some reports, the timely restraint of some impulse of blind rage, or, laying aside considerations of national dignity and power, to pay court to inferiors while paving the way for some success later—that such adaptation indicates consummate excellence in the individual, superb realism in the deliberating body, and virtue and intelligence in the state. All this the Roman senate of those days did, and thereby left, as it were, models and patterns for all who strive for empire and have the imagination to see how necessary it is to deal with problems in the light of circumstances.

9. Perseus sent envoys to Gentius,[1] king of the Illyrians and their most powerful chieftain at this time, proposing that they take concerted action. When Gentius asserted that he was quite willing to fight against the Romans but lacked money, Perseus again sent to him, turning, however, a deaf ear to the subject of money. On receiving the same reply he sent a third time, and though well aware what was in Gentius' mind he affected not to be, and said that if their undertaking turned out as planned he would give him ample satisfaction. 170/69 B.C.

Perseus, being still unwilling to advance money, again dispatched envoys to Gentius, saying not a word about an immediate gift of money but hinting at great things that he might expect upon the successful completion of their business. It is a nice problem

[1] Or Genthius. Polybius, 28. 8-9, gives the negotiations in slightly greater detail; for the sequel see Livy, 44. 23 and *passim*.

[3] οὐ added by Walton (cp. Polybius, 5. 25. 7).

ἂν πότερον τὴν τοιαύτην διάδυσιν ἀφροσύνην ἢ τελέως μανίαν ἡγήσαιτο τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα πραττόντων. ἐπιβάλλονται[1] μὲν γὰρ μεγάλοις καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν παραβάλλονται[2] ψυχήν, παρορῶσι δὲ τὸ μάλιστα ἀναγκαιότατον, καὶ ταῦτα νοοῦντες αὐτοὶ καὶ δυνάμενοι συντελεῖν. Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀμύντου, πραγματικὸς ἀνὴρ γενόμενος, οὐδέποτε ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις περιστάσεσιν ἐφείσατο χρημάτων, ἀλλὰ διαδοὺς[3] πλείονα τῶν αἰτουμένων ταχὺ καὶ προδοτῶν πλῆθος ηὕρισκε καὶ συμμάχων. τοιγαροῦν ἐν τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐγένετο βασιλέων, καὶ δύναμιν κατέλιπε δι' ἧς ὁ διαδεξάμενος Ἀλέξανδρος τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς οἰκουμένης κατεστρέψατο. Περσεὺς δὲ χρημάτων σεσωρευμένων ἔχων[4] πλῆθος διά τε τὰς πατρικὰς καὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων παρασκευὰς οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ τούτων ἠθέλησεν ἅψασθαι· τοιγαροῦν ἑαυτὸν συμμάχων ἐποίησεν ἔρημον καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κρατήσαντας ὕστερον πλουσιωτέρους ἐποίησεν. καίτοι γε τοῦτο φανερὸν ἦν πᾶσιν ὡς διὰ χρημάτων, βουλόμενος ἐκτείνειν τὰς χεῖρας, πολλοὺς ἂν τῶν τότε βασιλέων καὶ δήμων ἔπεισε συμμαχεῖν· ἀλλὰ καλῶς ποιῶν οὐκ ἔπραττε ταῦτα δι' ὧν ἢ κρατηθεὶς ἂν ἐποίησε πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς αὐτῆς ἀτυχίας μετασχεῖν ἢ[5] καὶ κρατήσας τῶν ὅλων ἐξουσίαν ὑπερήφανον καὶ βάρος δυσυπόστατον περιεποιήσατο.[6] (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 365-367.)

10. Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς κάλλιστον εἰληφὼς παρὰ τῆς

[1] So Dindorf: ἐπιβάλλοντες Mai; V now largely illegible.
[2] So Dindorf: παραβάλλοντες Mai, παραβαλλ. . . . V.
[3] διδοὺς Dindorf.
[4] ἔχων added by Dindorf.

whether we should consider such evasiveness stupidity or downright madness on the part of men who act thus. They set their hand to great enterprises and place their own lives in jeopardy, yet overlook the one thing that is really essential, even though they themselves see the point and have it in their power to meet the need. Assuredly Philip, the son of Amyntas, a real master of statecraft, never was sparing of money in such circumstances; on the contrary, by handing out more than was requested, he always found a ready and abundant supply of traitors and allies. Consequently, although he was at first among the least of the kings of Europe, he left at his death a power that enabled his successor, Alexander, to conquer most of the inhabited world. Perseus, however, though the possessor of great treasures, amassed over many years by his ancestors and by Perseus himself, was utterly unwilling to touch them, with the result that he stripped himself of allies and further enriched those who later conquered him. Yet it was evident to all that had he only chosen to be open-handed, his money would have persuaded many monarchs and peoples to become his allies. Actually we may be thankful that he did not do so, since, if he had, more Greeks would have been involved with him in the disaster of defeat, or else he would have become master of all and won for himself a position of proud authority and of well-nigh irresistible influence.

10. Perseus,[1] though Fortune had given him a 169 B.C.

[1] For this and the following chapter the account of Polybius is lost; cp. Livy, 44. 2-6.

[5] ἢ added by Mai (*tac.*).
[6] περιεποιήσατο] The reading is uncertain.

τύχης καιρὸν εἰς τὸ διαφθεῖραι τὴν δύναμιν ἄρδην τῶν Ῥωμαίων διέτριβε περὶ Δῖον τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἀπέχων μὲν οὐ πολὺ τῶν τόπων, ῥᾳθυμῶν δὲ περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων. κραυγῆς γὰρ μόνον ἦν χρεία καὶ σάλπιγγος εἰς τὸ τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν πολεμίων λαβεῖν αἰχμάλωτον, περικεκλεισμένην ἐν κρημνοῖς καὶ φάραγξι δυσεξιτήτοις. διόπερ ἐκείνου περὶ τούτων ἠμεληκότος, καὶ οἱ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀκρωρείαις[1] Μακεδόνες περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ τὰς ἐκκοιτίας[2] ἐρρᾳθύμουν.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 277.)

2 Ὅτι τοῦ Περσέως ἐν Δίῳ περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν γινομένου, τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τις εἰσδραμὼν εἰς τὸν λουτρῶνα τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν πολεμίων ἐδήλωσεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπτοήθη τὴν ψυχὴν ὥστε ἐξαλόμενος[3] ἐκ τῆς πυρίας[4] καὶ πατάξας τὸν μηρὸν ἐμπαθῶς, Οὐδὲ παραταξαμένους ἡμᾶς, εἶπεν, ὦ θεοί, παραδίδοτε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀγεννῶς; (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 367.)

11. Ὅτι τελέως ὁ Περσεὺς νομίσας ἐπταικέναι τοῖς ὅλοις, κατὰ πᾶν συντριβεὶς τῇ ψυχῇ Νίκωνα μὲν τὸν θησαυροφύλακα ἐξέπεμψε, συντάξας τὴν ἐν τῷ Φάκῳ γάζαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καταποντίσαι, Ἀνδρόνικον δὲ τὸν σωματοφύλακα εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην, συντάξας ἐμπρῆσαι τὰ νεώρια τὴν ταχίστην. ὃς γενηθεὶς τούτου φρονιμώτερος ἦλθεν εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην, οὐ μὴν ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθέν,[5] νομίζων †φίλιον τοῖς ὅλοις[6] κρατεῖν Ῥωμαίοις.

2 Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τοὺς χρυσοῦς ἀνδριάντας ἀνασπάσας

[1] So Reiske: τὰς ἀκρωρείας P.
[2] So Dindorf: κοιτίας P. [3] So Dindorf: ἐξαλλόμενος V.
[4] So Wurm: πικρίας Mai, ... ας V.

golden opportunity to wipe out the Roman army, stayed on near Dium in Macedonia; he was not far from the place of action, but he weakly neglected the most important issues. Indeed, it would have taken only a shout and a bugle call to make captives of the enemy's whole army, enclosed as it was among cliffs and gorges from which escape was difficult. But since he had been so heedless, the Macedonians encamped on the mountain ridges were also slack about guards and patrols.

While Perseus, at Dium, was busy with the care of his person, one of his bodyguards, bursting into the bath, announced that the enemy were upon them. The king was so distraught that as he sprang from his bath he smote his thigh furiously and exclaimed: "Ye gods above, do you then deliver us to the foe ignominiously, without time even to form our battle order?"

11. Perseus, thinking that all was completely lost, and utterly crushed in spirit, dispatched Nicon,[1] his treasurer, with orders to cast into the sea the treasures and money that were at Phacus, and sent his bodyguard Andronicus to Thessalonica, with orders to set fire to the dockyards instantly. Andronicus, showing himself wiser than his master, went to Thessalonica but did not carry out his orders, thinking . . . for the Romans to gain a complete triumph.

Perseus also pulled down the gilded statues at

[1] Called Nicias in Livy, 44. 10, who gives the aftermath of this affair.

---

[5] So Salmasius, Valesius: προταχθέν P.
[6] τοῖς ὅλοις] τοῦ στόλου Van der Mey (after Müller's translation). Herwerden suggests ὠφέλιμον for φίλιον, Post ὀφείλειν . . . Ῥωμαίους.

ἐκ Δίου, πάντας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀναλαβὼν μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Πύδναν. οὗ μεῖζον ἁμάρτημα τῷ Περσεῖ πεπραγμένον οὐκ ἂν τις εὕροι. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 277-278.)

12. Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς νενικηκότας ἐτρέψαντο· ἐνίοτε γὰρ τὰ παραστήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰ τελέως ἀπηλπισμένα πρὸς ἀπεγνωσμένην ἄγει συντέλειαν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 367.)

13. Ὅτι οἱ Κυδωνιᾶται ἐπετελέσαντο πρᾶξιν ἔκνομον καὶ τελέως ἀλλοτριωτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νομίμων. ἐν εἰρήνῃ γὰρ ὡς φίλοι πιστευόμενοι καταλαβόντες τὴν τῶν Ἀπολλωνιατῶν πόλιν τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἡβηδὸν ἀνεῖλον, τέκνα δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας διανειμάμενοι κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν.

14. Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος δυνάμενος ἐλασσωθέντας τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀποκτεῖναι, παριππεύων ἐβόα μὴ κτείνειν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ ζῶντας συλλαμβάνειν. ταχὺ δὲ τοὺς καρποὺς ταύτης τῆς[1] ἀγχινοίας ἐκομίσατο, καὶ πρὸς[2] τὴν τοῦ Πηλουσίου κατάληψιν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς[3] τὴν κατάκτησιν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταύτης τῆς φιλανθρωπίας μέγιστα συμβαλομένης.
(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 278.)

15. Ὅτι οἱ ἐπίτροποι Πτολεμαίου τοῦ μείρακος, Εὐλαῖος ὁ εὐνοῦχος καὶ Λήναιος ὁ Σύρος, πάντα πόρον καὶ μηχανὴν ἐπενόουν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην γάζαν εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐσώρευον, ὥστε[4] οὐκ ἂν τις θαυμάσειεν εἰ διὰ τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων ἐν οὕτω βραχεῖ καιρῷ τηλικαῦται τὸ μέγεθος

[1] τῆς added by Reiske.
[2] So Valesius: περὶ P. [3] πρὸς added by Nock.

Dium, and taking with him the whole population, women and children included, removed to Pydna. No greater mistake is to be found among his acts.

12. The Romans turned and put their victors to flight. Sometimes, in fact, the courage born of desperation brings even an utterly hopeless situation to a conclusion that would have seemed impossible.[1]

13. The people of Cydonia[2] carried out an action that was monstrous and utterly foreign to Greek custom. In time of peace and while enjoying the position of trusted friends, they seized the city of Apollonia, killed all the men and youths, and dividing among themselves the women and children, occupied the city.

14. Though Antiochus was in a position to slaughter the defeated Egyptians, he rode about calling to his men not to kill them, but to take them alive. Before long he reaped the fruits of his shrewdness, since this act of generosity contributed very greatly to his seizure of Pelusium, and later to the acquisition of all Egypt.

15. The ministers of the young Ptolemy, Eulaeus the eunuch and the Syrian Lenaeus, resorted to every possible means and device, and piled up gold, silver, and all other kinds of wealth in the royal treasury. Small wonder, then, if, through the efforts of such men, such great spectacles[3] were set up in so

[1] This refers to a skirmish near Antigoneia, in which the Macedonians had been at first victorious (Livy, 44. 10).
[2] In Crete. Cp. Polybius, 28. 14.
[3] In the *immediate* context " fortunes " would seem a more appropriate word here than " spectacles " or " festivals," but the text may be correct.

[4] So Dindorf: ὅπως V.

θεωρίαι[1] κατεσκευάσθησαν, καὶ ὅπως ὁ μὲν εὐνοῦχος ὢν[2] καὶ προσφάτως τὸν κτένα καὶ τοὺς ἀλαβάστρους ἀποτεθειμένος τῶν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔργων τοὺς Ἄρεως ἀγῶνας ἠλλάξατο, ὁ δὲ Κοιλοσυρίτης γεγονὼς δοῦλος καὶ μόνον οὐ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχων ἔτι[3] τὸ λογιστήριον ἐτόλμησε τὸν περὶ Συρίας πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, Ἀντιόχου καὶ[4] δυνάμεσι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις χορηγίαις οὐδενὸς ἧττον ἰσχύσαντος· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὄντες ἄπειροι τελείως τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγώνων καὶ μηδένα μήτε σύμβουλον ἔχοντες ἀξιόχρεων μήθ' ἡγεμόνα δυνατὸν ἐπεβάλοντο τηλικούτοις ἔργοις. τοιγαροῦν αὐτοί τε τῆς ἀφροσύνης ταχέως τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐκομίσαντο τιμωρίαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνέτρεψαν ἄρδην τὸ καθ' αὑτοὺς μέρος.

Τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα παρασημαινόμεθα πρὸς τὸ τὰς αἰτίας ἀκριβῶς θεωρεῖσθαι τῶν ἐλαττωμάτων καὶ κατορθωμάτων, καὶ τοῖς μὲν καλῶς προστατοῦσι τῶν πραγμάτων ἔπαινον ἀπομερίζοντες,[5] τῶν δὲ φαύλως διοικούντων κατηγοροῦντες. ἅμα μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα προαιρέσεις τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐμφανεῖς[6] κατασκευάζομεν καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον λόγον ἑκατέροις ἀπονέμοντες προτρεπόμεθα τὰς τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων ψυχὰς πρὸς τὸν τῶν καλῶν ζῆλον, ἅμα δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἔγκαρπον καὶ πᾶσι χρησίμην ἐφ' ὅσον ἡμῖν δυνατὸν κατασκευάζομεν διὰ τὸ τὰς ψιλῶς ἐχούσας ναυμαχίας καὶ παρατάξεις, ἔτι δὲ νομοθεσίας, μηδὲν διαφέρειν μύθων.

16. Ὅτι τὰ πλήθη συναγαγόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν

[1] θεωρίαι] χορηγίαι Herwerden, θησαυροὶ Post.

brief a space of time, nor yet that one who was a eunuch and had only recently laid aside comb and scentpots should exchange the service of Aphrodite for the contests of Ares, or that he who was born a slave in Coelê Syria, and from whose hands the abacus had just fallen, should have dared to take upon his shoulders the war for Syria, notwithstanding that Antiochus was second to none in the strength of his armies and his resources in general. What is more, the men who undertook these great tasks were completely without experience of warfare and battles, and they lacked even a single competent adviser or capable commander. They themselves, as might be expected, soon met with the punishment that their folly deserved, and they brought the kingdom to utter ruin as far as it was in their power to do so.

It is our aim in emphasizing these and similar events to provide an accurate estimate of the causes of success and failure. We both apportion praise to those whose conduct of affairs is excellent, and denounce those whose management is faulty. We bring into clear view the principles, both good and bad, by which men live and act, and by rendering a proper account of each we direct the minds of our readers to the emulation of what is good; at the same time, to the best of our ability we make our history fruitful and useful to all men, since a bare narrative of naval battles, military engagements, and legislation too, is no better than so much fiction.

16. The regents of Ptolemy, having summoned

[2] So Boissevain: ὃς V. Dindorf deletes.
[3] So Mai: ἐπὶ V.
[4] So Dindorf (?): μὲν V.
[5] So Dindorf: ἀποκομίζοντες V.
[6] So Dindorf: ἐμφανῶς V.

οἱ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐπίτροποι[1] καὶ σύντομον τέλος ἐπιθήσειν τῷ πολέμῳ κατεπαγγειλάμενοι τοῦτό γε οὐ διεψεύσαντο, ταχὺ καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τέλος[2] περιποιήσαντες. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν εὐέλπιδες ἦσαν τοῦ μὴ μόνον Συρίας κρατήσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἀντιόχου πάσης, ὥστε τῶν συναχθέντων χρημάτων ἐκόμιζον τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ τῶν ἐκ κυλικείου χρυσωμάτων· ἀπεσκευάσαντο δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλείων κλίνας τὰς πλείστας μὲν ἀργυρόποδας, ὀλίγας δὲ καὶ χρυσόποδας, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἱματίων καὶ κόσμου γυναικείου καὶ τῶν πολυτελεστάτων λίθων πλῆθος· ταῦτα δὲ ἔφασαν κομίζειν εἰς τοὺς προχείρως αὐτοῖς[3] ἢ πόλεις ἢ φρούρια παραδώσοντας. τὰ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἔφερον ἕτοιμα χορηγεῖα πρὸς τὸν καθ' αὑτῶν[4] ὄλεθρον.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 367-368.)

17. Ἡμεῖς[5] δὲ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τὴν οὕτως ἀγεννῆ φυγὴν[6] οὐκ ἂν προηγουμένως[7] ἀνεπισήμαντον ἐάσαιμεν. τὸ γὰρ ἐκτὸς γενόμενον τῶν δεινῶν καὶ τοσοῦτον τόπον[8] ἀφεστηκότα τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόθεν καθάπερ ἀκονιτὶ παραχωρῆσαι βασιλείας μεγίστης καὶ μακαριωτάτης πῶς οὐκ ἄν τις ἡγήσαιτο ψυχῆς τελείως ἐκτεθηλυμμένης εἶναι; ἣν εἰ μὲν συνέβαινε φυσικῶς ὑπάρχειν Πτολεμαίῳ τοιαύτην, ἴσως ἄν τις ἐκείνην καταμέμψαιτο· ὅτε δὲ διὰ τῶν

[1] ἐπίτροποι added by Mai.
[2] τοῦ βίου after τέλος deleted by Herwerden.
[3] So Herwerden: τούτοις V.
[4] καθ' αὑτῶν Herwerden: κατ' αὐτῶν V.
[5] Before ἡμεῖς P has Ὅτι τὸ ἐκτὸς γενόμενον τῶν δεινῶν· καὶ τοσαῦτα ἀφεστηκότα τῶν πολεμίων: deleted by Valesius.

the populace to an assembly, promised to bring the war to a speedy end. In this at least they were not in error, since they swiftly succeeded in putting an end both to the war and to themselves. Because of their inexperience, however, they entertained such high hopes of gaining not only Syria but even the whole realm of Antiochus, that they took with them the greater part of the treasures they had amassed, including the goldware from the sideboard. They also packed up and took along from the palace a number of couches, mostly with silver feet, but a few actually with feet of gold, as well as a large quantity of clothes, women's jewelry, and precious stones. These things, they declared, they were taking along for those who would then promptly surrender cities or fortresses to them. The outcome, however, was very different, and the treasures they carried off were a ready means to their own destruction.

17. In keeping with our policy we could not pass over without comment the ignoble flight of Ptolemy. That he, though standing in no immediate danger and though separated by such a distance from his enemies, should at once and virtually without a struggle abandon his claim to a great and opulent throne, can only, it would seem, be regarded as indicating a thoroughly effeminate spirit. Now had Ptolemy been a man endowed by Nature with such a spirit, we might perhaps have found fault with her. But since Nature finds a sufficient rebuttal to the

[6] So Walton: φύσιν P, ψυχὴν Herwerden, Dindorf[4].
[7] προηγουμένως] προσηκόντως Herwerden, Dindorf[4].
[8] τοσοῦτον τόπον Büttner-Wobst (cp. Polybius, 28. 21. 3): τοσαῦτα P, τοσοῦτον Dindorf.

ὕστερον πράξεων ἡ φύσις ἱκανῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀπελογήθη, δείξασα τὸν βασιλέα καὶ στάσιμον ὄντα καὶ δραστικὸν οὐδενὸς ἧττον, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τὰς αἰτίας ἀνατιθέναι τῆς τότε δειλίας καὶ ἀγεννείας εἰς τὸν σπάδωνα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου συντροφίαν[1]· ὃς ἐκ παιδὸς τὸ μειράκιον ἐν τρυφῇ καὶ γυναικείοις ἐπιτηδεύμασι συνέχων διέφθειρεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχήν.

18. Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἀνὴρ ἐφάνη πραγματικὸς καὶ τοῦ προσχήματος τῆς βασιλείας ἄξιος πλὴν τοῦ κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον στρατηγήματος.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 278-279.)

2 Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος διὰ στρατηγήματος ἀμφιδοξουμένου[2] ἐκυρίευσε τοῦ Πηλουσίου. πᾶς γὰρ πόλεμος ἐκβεβηκὼς τὰ νόμιμα καὶ δίκαια τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅμως ἔχει τινὰς ἰδίους καθαπερεὶ νόμους, οἷον ἀνοχὰς μὴ λύειν,[3] κήρυκα μὴ ἀναιρεῖν, τὸν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κατισχύοντος πίστιν . . .[4] τιμωρεῖσθαι. ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια . . . προσηκόντως ἄν τις ἀποφήναιτο τὸν Ἀντίοχον, καθάπερ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν δικαστηρίων συκοφάντας, τὸ μὲν ῥητὸν τοῦ νόμου τετηρηκέναι μετὰ τὰς ἀνοχὰς τὴν κατάληψιν πεποιημένον, τὸ μέντοι γε δίκαιον καὶ καλόν, δι' ὧν ὁ πάντων συνέχεται βίος, μὴ τετηρηκέναι. διὰ γὰρ τὴν συγγένειαν ὀφείλων φείδεσθαι τοῦ μειρακίου, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ἔφησε, τοὐναντίον ἐξαπατήσας ἐπεβάλετο τοῖς ὅλοις σφῆλαι τὸν πεπιστευκότα. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 368-369.)

[1] So Salmasius, Wesseling: συστροφίαν P.
[2] So Dindorf: ἀντιδοξουμένου V.

charge in his subsequent actions and has demonstrated that the king was second to none whether in firmness to resist or in energy to act, we are forced to assign the responsibility for his ignoble cowardice on this occasion to the eunuch and to Ptolemy's close association with him. For he, by rearing the lad from boyhood amid luxury and womanish pursuits, had been undermining his character.[1]

18. Antiochus showed himself a true statesman, and a man worthy of the royal dignity, except in the stratagem that he employed at Pelusium.[2]

Antiochus got possession of Pelusium by means of a questionable bit of strategy. For though all warfare is an exception to humane standards of law and justice, even so it has certain quasi-laws of its own: a truce, for example, may not be broken; heralds must not be put to death; a man who has placed himself under the protection of a superior opponent may not be visited with punishment or vengeance. These and similar matters . . . one might fairly say that Antiochus, in making the seizure after the truce, rather like a pettifogging lawyer held fast to the letter of the law but not to justice and honour, which are the bonds of social life. For on the grounds of kinship[3] he should, as he said himself, have spared the lad, but on the contrary after winning his confidence he deceived him and sought to bring him to utter ruin.

[1] From Polybius, 28. 21. [2] From Polybius, 28. 18.
[3] Antiochus was the uncle of Ptolemy. For his professions of friendship see St. Jerome, *in Dan.* 11. 21.

---

[3] μὴ λύειν Mai: μήνυσιν V.
[4] Something like Mai's παραδίδοντα (παραδόντα Herwerden) μὴ is required.

19. Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς πυθόμενος ἐπιλέκτους Γαλάτας πεπερακέναι τὸν Ἴστρον ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ, περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Μαιδικήν,[1] προτρεπόμενος ἥκειν τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ δὲ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἡγούμενος συμφωνήσας μισθὸν ᾔτει τακτόν, τοῦ σύμπαντος χρήματος εἰς πεντακόσια τάλαντα γινομένου. τοῦ δὲ Περσέως ὁμολογήσαντος μὲν δώσειν, οὐ ποιοῦντος δὲ τὸ συμφωνηθὲν διὰ φιλαργυρίαν, ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν πάλιν οἱ Γαλάται.

20. Ὅτι Αἰμίλιος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος παραλαβὼν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν προετρέψατο τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰς[2] ψυχὰς εἰς τὸ θαρρεῖν. ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος περὶ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη καὶ διὰ τὰς προκατεργασθείσας πράξεις μέγιστον ἔχων τότε Ῥωμαίων ἀξίωμα. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπενοήσατο ξένα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δυσεξεύρετα, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀγχινοίας καὶ τόλμης κατεπολέμησε τοὺς Μακεδόνας.

21. Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς βουλόμενος κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν προτρέψασθαι πλείους αὐτῷ συνεκπλεῦσαι, τῶν χρημάτων εἰς ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα προθεὶς ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλομένοις διαρπάσαι. ἐκπλεύσας δὲ καὶ κατενεχθεὶς εἰς Γαληψὸν ἔφησε πρὸς τοὺς διαρπάσαντας τὰ χρήματα ζητεῖν τὰ διὰ τῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταληφθέντων[3] κατασκευασθέντα. ἐπαγγειλάμενος οὖν ἀντιστήσειν τοῖς ἀποδοῦσι τὴν[4] τιμήν,

[1] So Wesseling, from Valesius' Latin translation: μηδικην (*s. acc.*) P.
[2] τὰς added by Valesius.
[3] καταλειφθέντων Wesseling, Dindorf.
[4] τὴν added by Herwerden.

19. Perseus, learning that a picked group of Gauls had crossed the Danube to join his forces, was overjoyed and dispatched messengers to the district of Maedicê, urging them to proceed with all speed. The leader of the Gauls consented but demanded that his men be paid a fixed stipend, amounting in all to five hundred talents. Perseus agreed to pay this, but when through avarice he failed to carry out the agreement, the Gauls returned again to their own land.[1] 186 B.C.

20. Aemilius[2] the Roman, on taking command of the army, called together his men and exhorted them to be of good cheer. He was about sixty years old, and because of his earlier exploits he was at this time held in the highest esteem at Rome. In this war also he originated many novel devices, things that would have eluded the invention of other men, and by his personal shrewdness and audacity he defeated the Macedonians.

21. Perseus, wishing to induce more of his men to join him in flight and sail with him,[3] set before them treasure to the value of sixty talents and allowed whoever would to seize it. But after he had put to sea and reached Galepsus, he announced to those who had taken the property that he was seeking certain objects made from the spoils captured by Alexander. Promising to make full compensation to those who restored these objects to him, he asked for

[1] Cp. Livy, 44. 26-27.
[2] L. Aemilius Paullus, the consul. For the *contio* see Livy, 44. 34.
[3] From Amphipolis, which he had reached on the third day of his flight after the disaster at Pydna. The men whom he lured, and afterwards cheated, were the notoriously greedy Cretans. For the story see Plutarch, *Aemilius*, 23.

ἠξίου ταχέως ἀνενεγκεῖν ταῦτα· πάντων δὲ προθύμως ποιησάντων, ἀπολαβὼν τὰ διαρπασθέντα τοὺς δόντας ἀπεστέρησε τῆς ἐπαγγελίας.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 279.)

2 Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς τὰ δοθέντα πρὸς διαρπαγὴν χρήματα ἀναλαβόμενος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἀπεστέρησε τοὺς δόντας, μέγιστον παρεχόμενος σημεῖον ὡς ἡ φιλαργυρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν ἀφαιρεῖται. τὸ γὰρ μηδ' ἐν[1] ἀπεγνωσμέναις ἐλπίσι παύεσθαι τοῦ λυσιτελοῦς καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ κέρδος ἐπιθυμίας, πῶς οὐκ ἄν τις ἡγήσαιτο τῶν φρενῶν τελέως ἐξεστηκέναι τοὺς ταῦτα πράττοντας, ὡς μὴ θαυμάζειν πῶς κατεπολεμήθησαν οἱ Μακεδόνες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ὅπως τετραετῆ χρόνον ἀντέσχον τοιοῦτον ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 369.)

3 Ὅτι ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος οὐχ ὁμοίαν ἔσχε τῷ Περσεῖ τῆς ψυχῆς διάθεσιν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν διὰ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ἁρμόζουσαν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιβολαῖς ἐκτήσατο βασιλείαν, ὁ δὲ διὰ τὴν σμικρολογίαν τούς τε Κελτοὺς ἀποτριψάμενος[2] καὶ τἄλλα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα πράξας κατέλυσε πολυχρόνιον καὶ μεγάλην βασιλείαν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 279-280.)

4 Ὅτι Δαρείου μετὰ τὴν πρώτην μάχην ἐκχωροῦντος τοῦ μέρους τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τετρακισμύρια τάλαντα καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμον διδόντος, ἀπεκρίθη μήτε τὸν κόσμον ὑπὸ δυεῖν ἡλίων δύνασθαι διοικεῖσθαι μήτε τὴν[3] οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ δυεῖν δεσποτῶν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 369.)

22. Ὅτι ὁ Αἰμίλιος μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν Περσέως

their immediate return. The men all complied with a will, but when he had recovered the objects, he cheated the donors of their promised reward.

Perseus, after recovering the treasures that he had allowed his men to seize, defrauded the donors of their promised reward, thereby providing most palpable proof that avarice, in addition to the other ills that it brings in its train, also deprives men of their wits. Indeed, his failure to forget profit and the desire for gain, even when the outlook was desperate, can only be regarded as the conduct of a man completely out of his senses. It is not surprising, then, that the Macedonians were defeated by the Romans, but only that with such a leader they held out for four years.

Alexander and Perseus were not at all alike in temperament. The former, with a greatness of mind that matched his personal aspirations, won for himself an empire; the latter, however, who from petty meanness alienated the Celts—a pattern of conduct that he followed consistently—brought down an ancient and mighty kingdom.

When Darius, after the first battle, proposed to give up a portion of his empire and offered Alexander forty thousand talents and the hand of his daughter in marriage, he received the reply that the universe could not be governed by two suns nor the world by two masters.[1]

22. After Perseus fled, Aemilius began to look for

[1] The story is told in Book 17. 54.

---

[1] μηδ' ἐν Mai: μηδεῖν V.
[2] So Wesseling: ἀποτρεψάμενος P.
[3] τὴν added by Herwerden.

ἐπεζήτει τὸν νεώτερον τῶν υἱῶν Πόπλιον Ἀφρικανόν, ὃς ἦν Αἰμιλίου κατὰ φύσιν υἱός, Σκιπίωνος δὲ τοῦ καταπολεμήσαντος Ἀννίβαν κατὰ θέσιν υἱιδοῦς, κομιδῇ νέος, ὡς ἂν περὶ τὸ[1] ἑπτακαιδέκατον γεγονὼς ἔτος· ὃς ἐκ νέου τηλικούτοις ἀγῶσι συμπαρὼν καὶ τριβὴν λαμβάνων τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων οὐχ ἧττων ἐγένετο τοῦ πάππου. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τούτου εὑρεθέντος . . .[2] εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, ἀπελύθη τῆς ἀγωνίας ὁ ὕπατος, ἔχων οὐ πατρὸς πρὸς[3] υἱὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἐρωμανῆ[4] τινα διάθεσιν πρὸς τὸ μειράκιον.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 280.)

23. Ὅτι ὁ ὕπατος Αἰμίλιος τὸν Περσέα λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς εἰς τὸ περὶ αὑτὸν συνέδριον ἐκάθισεν, ἁρμόζουσι λόγοις τοῦτον παραμυθησάμενος. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ παρεκάλει, καὶ μάλιστα τούτων τοὺς νέους, βλέποντας εἰς τὰ παρόντα καὶ θέντας ὑπὸ τὴν ὅρασιν[5] τὴν Περσέως τύχην μήτε μέγα λέγειν[6] ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον μήτε βουλεύεσθαι μηδὲν ὑπερήφανον περὶ μηδενός, μηδὲ καθόλου[7] πιστεύειν μηδέποτε ταῖς εὐτυχίαις, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις μάλιστα ἐπιτυγχάνῃ κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον βίον ἢ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις, τότε μάλιστα τῆς ἐναντίας τύχης ἔννοιαν λαμβάνειν καὶ διὰ μνήμης ἔχειν ἑαυτὸν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα.

[1] τὸ added by Valesius.
[2] Valesius suggests adding καὶ κομισθέντος.
[3] πατρὸς πρὸς Toup: πρὸς P. Valesius, deleting υἱὸν, reads πατρὸς μόνον. Dindorf, Bekker read πατρὸς πρὸς but delete μόνον.
[4] So Valesius: ἐρωμενήν P.
[5] So Dindorf: ἄρασιν V.

his younger son, Publius Africanus.[1] He was by birth the son of Aemilius but by adoption the grandson of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal, and was now a mere lad of about seventeen; from early youth he was present at those great battles, and gained such experience of warfare that he became a man not inferior to his grandfather. None the less, when he was found (and brought safely) into the camp the consul's anxiety was dispelled, for his feeling for the boy was not merely that of a father for his son, but something like the passion of a lover.

23. The consul Aemilius, taking Perseus by the hand, seated him in the midst of his council, and with words appropriate to the occasion offered him consolation and reassurance.[2] Then, addressing the members of the council, he exhorted them, especially the younger men, to mark well the present scene and, keeping the fate of Perseus before their eyes, never to boast of their achievements improperly, never to harbour arrogant designs towards anyone, nor, in general, to take their good fortune for granted at any time. Indeed, whenever a man's success was greatest, whether in private life or public affairs, then above all should he reflect on the reverses of fortune and be most mindful of his mortal nature.

[1] The famous Scipio Africanus the Younger, on whose youth see below, Book 31. 26-27, and Polybius, 31. 23-30. For the incident recounted here see Livy, 44. 44, and Plutarch, *Aemilius*, 22.
[2] The rest of this paragraph is taken almost verbatim from Polybius, 29. 20; cp. also Livy, 45. 7-8.

[6] μέγα λέγειν Post: μεγάλην V; μεγαλύνεσθαι Mai, Dindorf, μεγαλαυχεῖν Boissevain.
[7] μηδὲ καθόλου Walton (cp. Polybius, 29. 20): καθόλου, μηδὲ V.

διαφέρειν γὰρ ἀπεφήνατο τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων τῷ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀτυχίαις,[1] τοὺς δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκεσθαι.

Ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην προαίρεσιν διαλεχθεὶς οὕτως ἐποίησε συμπαθεῖς τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ ταπεινοὺς τοῖς φρονήμασιν ὥστε δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡττῆσθαι καὶ μὴ νενικηκέναι.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 369-370.)

2 Ὅτι ὁ Αἰμίλιος φιλανθρώπως προσενεχθεὶς τῷ Περσεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὰ σύνδειπνα παραλαβὼν καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου μεταδιδοὺς πᾶσιν ἐνεδείξατο πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ὑφισταμένους ὄντα βαρὺν ἑαυτόν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κρατηθέντας ἐπιεικῆ. τὴν παραπλησίαν δὲ διάθεσιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζηλούντων, τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονίαν οὐκ ἐπίφθονον εἶχεν ἡ Ῥώμη, τοιούτοις χρωμένη τῶν ὅλων προστάταις.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 280.)

24. Ὅτι οἱ τῶν Ῥοδίων πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις ἐλθεῖν ὡμολόγουν· τὸν γὰρ πόλεμον πᾶσιν ὄντα βλαβερὸν ἀπεφήναντο.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 370.)

[1] So Dindorf: εὐτυχίαις V.

"Fools," he said, "differ from the wise in this respect, that the former are schooled by their own misfortunes, the latter by the misfortunes of others."

Having discoursed at length in this vein he made those present at the council so sympathetic and humble of mood that it seemed as if they, and not their opponents, had suffered defeat.

Aemilius, by his generous treatment of Perseus—admitting him to the mess and giving him a place in the council—demonstrated to all men that he was stern towards those who stood against him, but considerate of a defeated foe.[1] Since there were others also who affected a similar attitude, Rome's world-wide rule brought her no odium so long as she had such men to direct her empire.

24. The Rhodian envoys agreed that they had come in order to mediate a settlement, since war, they declared, was harmful to everyone.[2]

[1] Cp. Virgil, *Aen.* 6. 853: "parcere subiectis et debellare superbos."

[2] Cp. Polybius, 29. 19, and Livy, 45. 3. The Romans regarded this eleventh-hour offer of mediation as a device to help Perseus. Chap. 24 is misnumbered 23 in Dindorf (see his *Argumenta Librorum*).

1. Ὅτι ὁ Ἀντίοχος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσεμνύνετο λέγων οὐ τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον βασιλείας ἑαυτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα παρεσκευάσθαι μεγάλας δυνάμεις εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ Πτολεμαίῳ βούλεσθαι συγκατασκευάσαι τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχήν. οὐ μὴν τό γε ἀληθὲς οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ διαγωνοθετῶν τὰ μειράκια διελάμβανε μεγάλην[1] χάριτος ἀφορμὴν παρέχων ἀκονιτὶ κυριεύσειν τῆς Αἰγύπτου. τῆς γὰρ τύχης αὐτοῦ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐξελεγχούσης καὶ τὴν προειρημένην πρόφασιν ἀφαιρούσης φανερὸς ἐγένετο τῶν πολλῶν ὢν[2] βασιλέων οἳ τοῦ λυσιτελοῦς οὐδὲν τῶν καλῶν προὐργιαίτερον τίθενται.

2. Ὅτι ἀπαντήσασι τὸν Ἀντίοχον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, κἀκείνου[3] μακρόθεν ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ[4] ἀσπαζομένου καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐκτείνοντος, ὁ μὲν Ποπίλλιος[5] πρόχειρον ἔχων τὸ βυβλίον ἐν ᾧ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα κατεκεχώριστο προέτεινε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγνῶναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον· τοῦτο δὲ ἔδοξε

[1] So Post: μεγάλης V.
[2] ὢν added by Dindorf. Herwerden suggests εἷς ὢν.
[3] So Dindorf: κἀκεῖθεν V.
[4] So Dindorf: τῆς φωνῆς V; Boissevain suggests διὰ for ἅμα (cp. Polybius, 29. 27).
[5] So Dindorf (throughout): Πόπλιος V.

[1] Ptolemy VI Philometor. After his capture by Antiochus

1. Antiochus at first put up a fine front, asserting 169/8 B.C.
that no thought of taking the throne of Egypt lay behind his extensive military preparations, and that his only motive was to assist the elder Ptolemy [1] in securing the position that was his by right of inheritance. This was by no means true; on the contrary, he conceived that by presiding over a dispute between the youths and so making an investment in goodwill he should conquer Egypt without a blow. But when Fortune put his professions to the test and deprived him of the pretext he had alleged, he stood revealed as one of the many princes who count no point of honour more important than gain.

2. As the Romans approached, Antiochus, after 168 B.C.
greeting them verbally from a distance, stretched out his hand in welcome. Popillius,[2] however, who had in readiness the document in which the senate's decree was recorded, held it out and ordered Antiochus to read it. His purpose in acting thus, it was thought,

Epiphanes, in the Sixth Syrian War, the Alexandrians proclaimed his brother Ptolemy Euergetes, nicknamed Physcon, king. The two brothers were soon reconciled, and for some five years ruled as joint kings. With the present passage cp. Polybius, 29. 26.

[2] C. Popillius Laenas, sent out by the senate to bring the war in Egypt to an end. The encounter took place at Eleusis, a suburb of Alexandria. See Polybius, 29. 2 and 27.

ποιεῖν ὅπως μὴ πρότερον ὡς φίλον δεξιώσηται πρὶν ἢ διὰ τῆς προαιρέσεως γνωσθῇ πότερον πολέμιός ἐστιν ἢ φίλος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔλεξε παρὰ τῶν φίλων γνώμην ἂν[1] λαβεῖν περὶ τούτων, ἀκούσας ὁ Ποπίλλιος ἐποίησε πρᾶγμα βαρὺ δοκοῦν εἶναι καὶ παντελῶς ὑπερήφανον. ἔχων γὰρ προχειρότατον ἀμπέλινον βακτήριον περιέγραψε τῷ κλήματι τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ διεκελεύσατο τὴν ἀπό-
2 κρισιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ γύρῳ[2] ποιεῖσθαι.[3] ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ μὲν ξενιζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, τὰ δὲ καταπεπληγμένος τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας, πρὸς ἀμηχανίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα[4] λογιζόμενος ἔφη ποιήσειν πᾶν τὸ παρακελευόμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ποπίλλιον ἅμα πάντες τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ λαβόντες ἠσπάζοντο φιλοφρόνως. ἦν δὲ τὰ[5] γεγραμμένα λύειν παραχρῆμα τὸν πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον πόλεμον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκολούθως τοῖς γεγραμμένοις τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξήγαγεν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ἐκπεπληγμένος τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεροχήν, ἅτε καὶ προσφάτως ἀκηκοὼς τὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων πταῖσμα· τοῦτο γὰρ μήπω γεγενῆσθαι δοκῶν οὔποτ᾽ ἂν ἑκουσίως προσεῖχε[6] τῷ δόγματι.

3. Ὅτι ἀληθὲς ἦν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπό τινων τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν, ὅτι συγγνώμη τιμωρίας αἱρετωτέρα· πάντες γὰρ ἀποδεχόμεθα τοὺς ἐπιεικῶς χρωμένους ταῖς ἐξουσίαις, προσκόπτομεν δὲ τοῖς προπετῶς τὰς κολάσεις λαμβάνουσι παρὰ τῶν ὑπο-

[1] ἂν added by Herwerden.
[2] τῷ γύρῳ added by Herwerden (cp. Polybius, *l.c.*).

was that he might avoid clasping the king's hand in friendship until it was evident from his decision whether he was, in fact, friend or foe. When the king, after reading the document, said that he would consult with his friends on these matters, Popillius, hearing this, acted in a manner that seemed offensive and arrogant in the extreme. Having a vinestock ready at hand, with the stick he drew a line about Antiochus, and directed him to give his answer in that circle. The king, astonished by what had taken place, and awed, too, by the majesty and might of Rome, found himself in a hopeless quandary, and on full consideration said that he would do all that the Romans proposed. Popillius and his colleagues then took his hand and greeted him cordially. Now the purport of the letter was that he must break off at once his war against Ptolemy. Pursuant to these instructions the king withdrew his forces from Egypt, panic-stricken by the superior might of Rome, the more so as he had just had news of the Macedonian collapse. Indeed, had he not known that this had taken place, never of his own free will would he have heeded the decree.

3. It is then apparently true, as certain of the sages of old have declared, that forgiveness is preferable to revenge.[1] We all, in fact, approve those who use their power with moderation, and we are offended by men who are quick to punish those who fall into

[1] Cp. Book 21. 9 and note. The present passage may be a portion of Cato's speech in defence of the Rhodians: cp. Aulus Gellius, 6. 3.

[3] So Dindorf: ποιῆσαι V, ποιήσασθαι Herwerden.
[4] So Mai: συμβαντα (no accent visible) V.
[5] τὰ added by Dindorf.
[6] So Mai: προσέχειν V.

πεσόντων. διόπερ ὁρῶμεν τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τὰ παράδοξα τῆς τύχης καλῶς τεθησαυρικότας τὰς χάριτας παρὰ τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσι, τοὺς[1] δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἐναντίαις περιστάσεσιν ὁμοίαν ἀπολαμβάνοντας τιμωρίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀγνωμονηθέντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν κοινὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπταικότας ἔλεον ἑαυτῶν
2 παρῃρημένους. οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπειπάμενον πᾶσαν φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτὸν ἐν μέρει περιπταίσαντα τυγχάνειν τῆς παρὰ τῶν κρατούντων ἐπιεικείας. καίτοι γε πολλοὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τιμωρίας σεμνύνεσθαι τολμῶσιν, οὐ προσηκόντως τοῦτο ποιοῦντες· τί γὰρ λαμπρὸν ἢ μέγα τὸ τοὺς πεσόντας ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν περιβαλεῖν ἀνηκέστοις συμφοραῖς; τί δὲ ὄφελος τῆς γεγενημένης νίκης, ἂν ὑπερηφάνως χρησάμενοι τοῖς κατορθώμασιν ἐξαλείφωμεν τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν εὐφημίαν, ἀνάξιοι φανέντες τῶν εὐτυχηθέντων; μέγιστον γὰρ καρπὸν δικαίως ἄν τις ἡγήσαιτο τοῖς πραγμάτων ὀρεγομένοις τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις
3 εὐδοξίαν. διὸ καὶ θαυμάσαι τις ἂν πῶς ἅπαντες σχεδὸν ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ περιβοηθεῖσαν ἀπόφασιν ἀληθῆ καὶ συμφέρουσαν ἐπὶ τῆς πείρας οὐ βεβαιοῦσι τὴν ἰδίαν γνώμην. δεῖ δέ, οἶμαι, τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας, ὅταν τὰ μέγιστα ἐπιτυγχάνωσι, τότε μάλιστα τῆς ἐναντίας περιστάσεως ἔννοιαν λαμβάνειν, καὶ νικᾶν μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους, ἡττᾶσθαι δὲ εὐγνωμοσύνῃ τοῦ τῶν ἐπταικότων ἐλέου· ταῦτα γὰρ συμβάλλεται μεγάλα πρὸς αὔξησιν πᾶσι μὲν ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα

[1] So Mai: τοῖς V.

their hands. Thus, too, we see that the former class of men have ready against the surprises of Fortune a rich store of goodwill laid up in the hearts of those to whom they have been gracious; the latter, however, whenever the situation is reversed, not only receive like vengeance from those towards whom they have been unfeeling, but find too that they have deprived themselves of the pity generally accorded to the fallen. Nor would it, indeed, be just that a man who has denied all humanity to others should himself, when he in turn stumbles and falls, meet with consideration from those who have him in their power. Yet many men have the temerity to pride themselves on the severity with which they avenge themselves on their foes, though this pride is ill founded. For what is splendid or great in inflicting irremediable disaster upon men whose fall has placed them in our power? What do victories profit us if in prosperity we behave with such arrogance that we cancel the fair fame that we had earlier by showing ourselves unworthy of our good fortune? Surely the honour that is gained by noble deeds is rightly considered the highest reward of men who aspire to control events. This being so, it is astonishing that while nearly all men acknowledge the truth and the utility of the principle that at first they acclaimed, they do not when it comes to a test endorse their own verdict. The proper course, I suggest, for men of intelligence would be to bear in mind, especially at the supreme moment of triumph, that the tables may be turned; and so, although by their courage they conquer the foe, yet on grounds of prudence they will surrender to pity for the victims of fortune. This does much to augment the influence of any man,

δὲ τοῖς ἡγεμονίας προεστηκόσιν. ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶν ἠσθενηκότων ἑκουσίως ὑποταττόμενος προθύμως ὑπηρετεῖ καὶ πάντα συμπράττει μετ' εὐνοίας.

4 Ταύτης δ' ἐοίκασι Ῥωμαῖοι μάλιστα πεποιῆσθαι πρόνοιαν, βουλευόμενοι[1] πραγματικῶς καὶ ταῖς εἰς τοὺς κρατηθέντας εὐεργεσίαις θηρώμενοι παρὰ μὲν τῶν εὖ παθόντων χάριτας ἀειμνήστους, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τὸν δίκαιον ἔπαινον.

4. Ὅτι τῆς τύχης εὐροούσης τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐβουλεύοντο μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπισκέψεως πῶς καθήκει χρήσασθαι τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι . . .[2] κατὰ τρόπον εὐχερέστερον εἶναι τοῦ καταγωνίσασθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις τοὺς ἀντιταχθέντας. οὐ μὴν καὶ τἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει· πλείους γὰρ εὑρεῖν ἔστι τοὺς εὐγενῶς κινδυνεύοντας τῶν ταῖς εὐημερίαις ἀνθρωπίνως χρωμένων. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 370-372.)

5. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις εἰς Ῥώμην παρεγένοντο πρεσβευταὶ Ῥοδίων, τὰς γεγενημένας διαβολὰς κατ' αὐτῶν ἀπολύσασθαι· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Περσέα πολέμῳ ταῖς εὐνοίαις ἀποκεκλικέναι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ προδεδωκέναι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν. μηδὲν δὲ ἀνύοντες ὧν ἐπρέσβευον εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐνέπιπτον, καὶ μετὰ δακρύων ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἐντεύξεις. εἰσαγαγόντος δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ἑνὸς τῶν δημάρχων Ἀντωνίου, πρῶτος μὲν ἐποιεῖτο τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πρεσβείας λόγον Φιλόφρων, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀστυμήδης. πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς δέησιν καὶ παραίτησιν εἰπόντες καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τὸ κύκνειον ᾄσαντες

[1] So Dindorf: βουλόμενοι V.
[2] Dindorf suggests as a possible supplement πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἡγοῦνται τὸ χρήσασθαι τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι.

but particularly that of the representatives of empire. For then each one of those whose strength is lost, yielding voluntary allegiance, gives eager service and is in all things a loyal collaborator.

This principle the Romans have evidently taken much to heart. They are statesmanlike in their deliberations, and by conferring benefits on those whom they have defeated they seek to gain the undying gratitude of the recipients and the well-deserved praise of the rest of mankind.

4. Since the tide of Fortune was running strongly in their favour the Romans gave careful attention to the question how to act in view of their successes. (Many suppose that a right use of victory) is easier than to subdue one's adversaries by force of arms. In point of fact, this is not true, for men who are brave in battle are to be found in greater numbers than men who are humane in seasons of prosperity.

5. Just at this time envoys of the Rhodians[1] 167 B.C.
arrived in Rome to clear themselves of the allegations that had been made against them; for it was believed that during the war with Perseus their sympathies had inclined towards the king and that they had been disloyal to their friendship with Rome. Failing completely to achieve the purposes of their embassy, the envoys lost heart, and gave vent to tears as they made their petitions. Introduced before the senate by Antonius, one of the tribunes, Philophron spoke first on behalf of the delegation, and then Astymedes. At great length they pled for mercy and forgiveness, and at last, after having, as the saying goes, sung their swan-song, they only just managed to elicit a

[1] The narrative of Diodorus, based closely on Polybius, 30. 4, is here preserved in several versions.

μόλις ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις, δι' ὧν τοῦ μὲν ὁλοσχεροῦς φόβου παρελύθησαν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων πικρῶς ὠνειδίσθησαν. (Photius, *Bibl.* p. 381 B.)

3 Ὅτι εἰς Ῥώμην παρεγένοντο πρεσβευταὶ Ῥοδίων πρὸς τὰς γεγενημένας κατ' αὐτῶν διαβολὰς ἀπολογησόμενοι.[1] ἐδόκουν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Περσέα πολέμῳ ταῖς εὐνοίαις ἀποκεκλικέναι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ προδεδωκέναι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν. ὁρῶντες δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐνέπιπτον. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τις συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν παρεκάλει τὰ πλήθη πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Ῥοδίων πόλεμον, τόθ' ὁλοσχερῶς δείσαντες περὶ τῆς πατρίδος εἰς τοιαύτην ἦλθον κατάπληξιν ὥστε πένθιμον ἀναλαβεῖν ἐσθῆτα, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἐντεύξεις τῶν φίλων μηκέτι παρακαλεῖν[2] μηδὲ ἀξιοῦν, ἀλλὰ δεῖσθαι μετὰ δακρύων μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον περὶ αὐτῶν βουλεύεσθαι. εἰσαγαγόντος δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ἑνὸς τῶν δημάρχων,[3] τοῦ[4] καὶ τὸν παρακαλοῦντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγὸν κατασπάσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς λόγους. . . .[5] καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς δέησιν εἰπόντες ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις δι' ὧν τοῦ μὲν ὁλοσχεροῦς φόβου παρείθησαν, περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐγκλημάτων πικρῶς ὠνειδίσθησαν. (*Const. Exc.* 1, p. 402.)

2a Οὗτοι δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς δέησιν καὶ παραίτησιν εἰπόντες καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τὸ κύκνειον ᾄσαντες μέλος[6] μόγις ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις, δι' ὧν τοῦ φόβου παρείθησαν.

[1] So Ursinus: ἀπολογησομένους O.
[2] So Ursinus (cp. Polybius, 30. 4): παραλιπεῖν O.
[3] καὶ παρακαλοῦντος after δημάρχων deleted by Ursinus.

reply. This did indeed relieve them of their worst fears, though in it they were bitterly upbraided for their alleged offences.

Envoys of the Rhodians now arrived in Rome to clear themselves of the allegations that had been made against them. For it was believed that in the war with Perseus their sympathies had inclined towards the king and that they had been disloyal to their friendship with Rome. When the envoys perceived the coolness with which they were received, they lost heart; and when a certain praetor,[1] convoking an assembly, urged the people to make war on Rhodes, they feared utter destruction for their country and were so dismayed that they put on mourning, and in appealing to their friends no longer spoke as advocates or claimants, but besought them with tears not to adopt measures fatal to Rhodes. When they were introduced before the senate by one of the tribunes, the same who had pulled from the rostra the praetor who was urging to war, . . . made speeches. Only after many entreaties did they obtain an answer. This did indeed relieve them of their fear of total ruin, though they were subjected to bitter reproaches on the score of the particular charges.

These men presented their pleas and entreaties at great length, and at last, after having, as the saying goes, sung their swan-song, they only just managed to elicit a reply, which eased them of their fear.

[1] The *praetor peregrinus*, M'. Iuventius Thalna (Livy, 45. 21).

---

[4] τοῦ added by Campe.
[5] Lacuna indicated by Dindorf (cp. chap. 5. 1 and Polybius, *l.c.*).
[6] Herwerden, Dindorf[4] delete μέλος.

2b Ὅτι τῶν ἐπηρτημένων φόβων ἐδόκουν ἀπολελύσθαι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα καίπερ ὄντα δυσχερῆ ῥᾳδίως ἔφερον. ὡς ἐπίπαν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν προσδοκωμένων κακῶν καταφρονοῦσι τῶν ἐλαττόνων συμπτωμάτων. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 372.)

6. Διόπερ ἰδεῖν ἔστι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ δόξης ἁμιλλωμένους, δι' ὧν ἅπαντα σχεδὸν τὰ μέγιστα τῷ δήμῳ κατορθοῦνται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολιτεύμασι ζηλοτυποῦσιν ἀλλήλους, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐπαινοῦσιν. ἐξ οὗ συμβαίνει μάλιστα τοὺς μὲν πράσσειν τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων, ἁμιλλωμένους αὔξειν τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀδικοδοξοῦντας καὶ τὰς ἀλλήλων ἐπιβολὰς λυμαινομένους βλάπτειν τὴν πατρίδα. (Photius, *Bibl.* p. 381 B.)

7. 1. Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἧκον εἰς Ῥώμην πάντοθεν οἱ πρεσβευταὶ συγχαρησόμενοι τοῖς γεγονόσι κατορθώμασιν. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος φιλανθρώπως ἅπαντας ἀποδεχομένη καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐπιεικεῖς διδοῦσα συντόμως ἑκάστους ἀπέλυσεν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας. (*Const. Exc.* 1, p. 402.)

Chap. 7. 2: see below, after Chap. 17b.

8. Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε χρόνοις τῶν μεγίστων βασιλέων Ἀντιόχου καὶ Φιλίππου[1] πολέμῳ περιγενόμενοι τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχοντο τοῦ τιμωρίαν λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν ὥστε μὴ μόνον συγχωρῆσαι τὰς βασιλείας ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλους αὐτοὺς ποιήσασθαι. ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις, προδιηγωνισμένοι πολλάκις πρὸς Περσέα καὶ κινδύνους μεγάλους ὑπομεμενηκότες, ἐπειδὴ τῆς

[1] So Salmasius, Valesius: Ἀντίοχος καὶ Φίλιππος P.

They[1] thought that they were now quit of the fears that had hung over them, and readily put up with all else, however distasteful. As a general rule, indeed, any enormity of anticipated suffering makes men think little of lesser misfortunes.

6. Hence it is that among the Romans the most distinguished men are to be seen vying with one another for glory, and it is by their efforts that virtually all matters of chief moment to the people are brought to a successful issue. In other states men are jealous of one another, but the Romans praise their fellow citizens. The result is that the Romans, by rivalling one another in promotion of the common weal, achieve the most glorious successes, while other men, striving for an undeserved fame and thwarting one another's projects, inflict damage upon their countries.

7. 1. At about this same time envoys arrived in Rome from all quarters, to offer congratulations on the victory that had been won. The senate received them all courteously, briefly gave each a fair reply, and sent them off home.[2] Winter 167/6 B.C.

8. Earlier, when the Romans defeated Antiochus and Philip, the greatest monarchs of that age, they so far abstained from exacting vengeance that they not only allowed them to keep their kingdoms but even accepted them as friends. So, too, on this present occasion, notwithstanding their repeated struggles with Perseus and the many grave dangers that they had had to face, having now at last subjugated the 167 B.C.

[1] The Rhodian people, as appears from Polybius, 30. 5. 2-3, not the envoys. Accordingly, I have transposed the order of sections 2 and 3, and indicated the break in section 2.

[2] This passage apparently corresponds to Polybius, 30. 19. 14-17 (not to 30. 13, *pace* Dindorf).

Μακεδόνων βασιλείας ἐκράτησαν, ἐλευθέρας ἀφῆκαν τὰς ἁλούσας πόλεις παρὰ τὴν ἁπάντων προσδοκίαν. οὐ γὰρ οἷον τῶν ἄλλων ὑπέλαβεν ἄν τις, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτοὶ Μακεδόνες ἤλπιζον ἀξιωθήσεσθαι τηλικαύτης φιλανθρωπίας, συνειδότες αὑτοῖς πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα παρανενομηκόσιν εἰς Ῥωμαίους· τετυχηκότες[1] γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς πρότερον ἀγνοήμασι συγγνώμης, εἰκότως ἂν τοῖς ὕστερον ἁμαρτήμασιν ὑπελάμβανον ἑαυτοῖς[2] μηδένα λόγον δίκαιον εἰς ἔλεον καὶ παραίτησιν ἀπολελεῖφθαι.

2 Οὐ μὴν ἡ σύγκλητος ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐμνησικάκησεν, ἀλλὰ μεγαλοψύχως καὶ προσηκόντως ἑκάστοις προσηνέχθη. Περσέα μὲν γὰρ ἐκ προγόνων ὀφείλοντα χάριτας, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἄδικον ἐξήνεγκε πόλεμον, λαβόντες αἰχμάλωτον εἰς ἐλευθέραν ἀπέθεντο φυλακήν, ἐλάττονα δὴ[3] τῶν παρανομημάτων λαμβάνοντες τιμωρίαν· τὸ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἔθνος εἰς δουλείαν δικαίως ἂν ἀγαγόντες[4] ἠλευθέρωσαν, οὕτως εὐγενῶς καὶ ταχέως προέμενοι τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ὥστε μηδὲ τὴν[5] παρὰ τῶν ἐπταικότων δέησιν ἀναμεῖναι. ὁμοίως[6] καὶ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες αὐτονόμους ἀφῆκαν, οὐχ οὕτως ἀξίους ἡγούμενοι χάριτος τοὺς βαρβάρους, ὡς ἑαυτοῖς προσήκειν νομίζοντες κατάρχειν εὐεργεσίας καὶ μὴ μεγάλα φρονεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις.

3 Ὅτι ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τούς τε Μακεδόνας καὶ

[1] τετευχότες Dindorf[4].
[2] So Salmasius: ἑαυτοὺς P.
[3] So Nock: ἐλάττοναδε P; ἐλάττονά γε Valesius. Dindorf[4] omits the particle.

kingdom of Macedon, contrary to all expectations they set the captured cities free. Not only would no one else have anticipated this but not even the Macedonians themselves had any hope of being accorded such consideration, having on their conscience many serious offences that they had committed against Rome. Indeed, since their earlier errors had been forgiven, they supposed, as well they might, that no just argument for pity or pardon was still available to them for these later shortcomings.

The Roman senate, however, harboured no grudges but acted towards them with magnanimity, yet with due regard to the merits of the several cases. Perseus, for example, owed them an inherited debt of gratitude, and since in violation of his covenant he was the aggressor in an unjust war, they held him, after he became their prisoner, in "free custody," thereby exacting a punishment far less, certainly, than his crimes. The Macedonian people, whom they might in all justice have reduced to slavery, they set free, and they were so generous and so prompt in conferring this boon that they did not even wait for the defeated to petition them. Likewise with the Illyrians, to whom, once they had been subdued, they granted autonomy, less from any belief that the barbarians deserved their indulgence than from the conviction that it was fitting and proper for the Roman people to take the initiative in acts of beneficence and to avoid over-confidence in their day of power.

The senate resolved that the Macedonians and the

[4] So Wesseling: ἔχοντες P.
[5] τὴν added by Herwerden.
[6] So Valesius (cp. chap. 8. 5): ὅμως P.

τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀφεῖναι, τὰ ἡμίση διδόντας ὧν πρότερον ἐτέλουν τοῖς ἰδίοις βασιλεῦσιν.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 280-281.)

4 Αἰμίλιος Μάρκος Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος καὶ ἄριστος στρατηγός, Περσέα λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον, τοῦτον μὲν ἄδικον πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐξαγαγόντα παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας πόλεμον εἰς ἐλευθέραν ἀπέθετο φυλακήν, τὰς δὲ πόλεις Μακεδόνων καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν ἁλούσας παρ' ἐλπίδα πάσας ἐλευθέρας ἀφῆκεν, καίτοι μεγάλους κινδύνους ὑπομεινάντων Ῥωμαίων πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Περσέα πολέμοις καὶ πρό γε τούτου κρατησάντων[1] πολέμῳ Φιλίππου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Μεγάλου, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς φιλανθρωπευθέντων ὡς μὴ μόνον τὰς βασιλείας αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλους αὐτοὺς εἶναι συγχωρῆσαι[2]· ἐφ' οἷς ἑαυτοὺς Μακεδόνες ἀγνωμονήσαντες ἀναξίους ἐδόκουν ἔσεσθαι παντὸς ἐλέους χειρωθέντες Ῥωμαίοις σὺν τῷ Περσεῖ. ἀλλ' ἡ σύγκλητος ἀμνησικάκως καὶ μεγαλοψύχως αὐτοῖς προσηνέχθη, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀντὶ δουλείας χαρισα-
5 μένη. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς· καὶ τούτων γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα Γετίωνα αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβον σὺν τῷ Περσεῖ. εὐγενῶς οὖν αὐτοῖς[3] Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν χαρισάμενοι τὰ ἡμίση δίδειν τῶν τελῶν προσέταξαν ὧν πρότερον ἐτέλουν τοῖς ἰδίοις βασιλεῦσιν.

6 Ἐξέπεμψάν τε δέκα μὲν πρεσβευτὰς ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου εἰς Μακεδονίαν, πέντε δὲ εἰς Ἰλλυριούς,

[1] So Dindorf: κρατήσαντες.

Illyrians should be free, and that they should pay one-half the amount that they formerly paid their own kings in taxes.

Marcus Aemilius,[1] consul of the Romans and a general of the highest ability, on taking Perseus prisoner placed him in "free custody," although Perseus had made war upon the Romans without just cause and in violation of his covenants. Moreover, to everyone's surprise he set free all the Macedonian and Illyrian cities that had been captured, despite the fact that the Romans had repeatedly faced grave dangers in the war against Perseus and, earlier still, had met and defeated Philip, his father, and Antiochus the Great, and had shown them such consideration as not only to permit them to retain their kingdoms but even to enjoy the friendship of Rome. Since in the sequel the Macedonians had behaved irresponsibly, they thought that they should have no title to mercy when, along with Perseus, they fell into the hands of the Romans. On the contrary the senate dealt with them in a forgiving and generous spirit, and instead of slavery bestowed freedom. In like manner they dealt with the Illyrians, whose king, Getion,[2] they had taken prisoner along with Perseus. Having thus nobly bestowed the gift of freedom upon them, the Romans ordered them to pay one-half as much as they had formerly paid their own kings in taxes.

They sent out ten commissioners from the senate to Macedonia, and five to the Illyrians, who met

[1] So Syncellus, for L. Aemilius Paullus.
[2] *i.e.* Gentius.

---

[2] So Scaliger: συγχωρησάντων.
[3] So Dindorf: δυνατοῖς.

οἳ καὶ πρὸς Αἰμίλιον Μάρκον ἐλθόντες συνεῖδον τὰ τείχη Δημητριάδος πόλεως Μακεδόνων πρώτης καθελεῖν, Ἀμφιλόχους δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀποζεῦξαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας τῶν Μακεδόνων εἰς ἓν συναγαγεῖν· ἔνθα ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἀφρουρήτους
7 αὐτοὺς ἀφῆκαν. κατέλυσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ προσόδους διά τε τὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἀνεπηρέαστον καὶ ὅπως μή τινες μετὰ ταῦτα νεωτερίζοιεν διὰ τῶν χρημάτων ἀνα-
8 κτώμενοι τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν. τὴν δὲ χώραν ὅλην διεῖλον εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη, ὧν πρῶτον τὸ μεταξὺ Νέστου ποταμοῦ καὶ Στρυμόνος καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τοῦ Νέστου ἐρύματα πλὴν[1] τὰ πρὸς Ἄβδηραν καὶ Μαρώνειαν καὶ Αἶνον πόλεις, πρὸς δυσμὰς δὲ τοῦ Στρυμόνος Βισαλτία πᾶσα μετὰ τῆς ἐν τῇ Σιντικῇ Ἡρακλείας· δεύτερον μέρος, ὅπερ ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῆς ὁρίζει ὁ Στρυμὼν ποταμός, ἀπὸ δὲ δυσμῶν ὁ καλούμενος Ἀξιὸς ποταμὸς καὶ οἱ παρακείμενοι αὐτῷ τόποι· τρίτον, ὃ περιέχει κατὰ δυσμὰς μὲν ὁ Πηνειὸς ποταμός, κατὰ δὲ ἄρκτον τὸ λεγόμενον Βέρνον ὄρος, προστεθέντων καί τινων τόπων τῆς Παιονίας, ἐν οἷς καὶ πόλεις ἀξιόλογοι Ἔδεσσα καὶ Βέροια· τέταρτον καὶ τελευταῖον, ὅπερ ὑπὲρ τὸ Βέρνον ὄρος συνάπτει τῇ Ἠπείρῳ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα τόποις. ἡγοῦντο δὲ καὶ πόλεις τέσσαρες τῶν αὐτῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν, τοῦ μὲν πρώτου Ἀμφίπολις, τοῦ δευτέρου Θεσσαλονίκη, τοῦ τρίτου Πέλλα, καὶ τοῦ τετάρτου Πελαγονία.

[1] ἐρύματα πλὴν Wesseling: ἐρύμην καὶ. Dindorf reads ἐρύματα καὶ.

[1] Properly in Magnesia, Demetrias had been part of

with Marcus Aemilius and agreed to dismantle the walls of Demetrias, the chief city of the Macedonians,[1] to detach Amphilochia from Aetolia, and to bring together the prominent men of Macedon at a meeting: there they set them free and announced the removal of the garrisons. In addition, they cut off the revenues derived from the gold and silver mines, partly to keep the local inhabitants from being oppressed, and partly to prevent anyone from stirring up a revolution thereafter by using this wealth to get control of Macedon. The whole region they divided into four cantons: the first comprised the area between the Nestus River and the Strymon, the forts east of the Nestus (except[2] those of Abdera, Maroneia, and Aenus), and, west of the Strymon, the whole of Bisaltica, together with Heracleia Sintica; the second, the area bounded on the east by the Strymon River, and on the west by the river called the Axius and the lands that border it; the third, the area enclosed on the west by the Peneus River, and on the north by Mt. Bernon,[3] with the addition of some parts of Paeonia, including the notable cities of Edessa and Beroea; fourth and last, the area beyond Mt. Bernon, extending to Epirus and the districts of Illyria. Four cities were the capitals of the four cantons, Amphipolis of the first, Thessalonica of the second, Pella of the third, and

Macedonia only since 196 B.C. Presumably its earlier status was now restored.

[2] Wesseling's emendation brings the text into agreement with Livy, 45. 29, the other chief source for the geographical terms of the settlement. Dindorf's text gives: "the forts east of the Nestus and those towards Abdera, etc."

[3] Livy says Mt. Bora, which is, however, north of both Beroea and Edessa. Probably Mt. Bermius is meant.

9 ἐν ταύταις ἀρχηγοὶ τέσσαρες κατεστάθησαν καὶ οἱ φόροι ἠθροίζοντο. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς Μακεδονίας τόποις διὰ τὰς τῶν παρακειμένων ἐθνῶν ἐπιβουλὰς κατέστησαν στρατιώτας.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἀγῶνας καὶ πότους μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τῷ πλήθει συντάξας τὰ εὑρεθέντα χρήματα εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν· καταλαβὼν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς θρίαμβον καταγαγεῖν ἅμα τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ
10 στρατηγοῖς κελεύεται παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν Ἀνίκιος καὶ Ὀκτάουιος ὁ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως ἡγησάμενος ἀνὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἑκάτερος ἐθριάμβευσεν, ὁ δὲ σοφώτατος Αἰμίλιος ἐπὶ τρεῖς. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἅμαξαι χίλιαι διακόσιαι προῆλθον φέρουσαι λευκὰς καὶ τραχείας[1] ἀσπίδας, καὶ ἄλλαι χίλιαι διακόσιαι ἅμαξαι πλήρεις ἀσπίδων χαλκῶν, καὶ ἕτεραι τριακόσιαι λόγχας καὶ σαρίσας καὶ τόξα καὶ ἀκόντια γέμουσαι· προηγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ σαλπιγκταί. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ ποικίλα εἴδη φέρουσαι ὅπλων, κά-
11 μακες ὀκτακόσιαι καθωπλισμέναι. τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ προεκομίσθη νομισμάτων τάλαντα χίλια, ἀργύρου τάλαντα δισχίλια διακόσια, ἐκπωμάτων πλῆθος, ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ἀνδριάντων ποικίλων ἅμαξαι πεντα-

[1] τραχείας A: τραχίας B, Dindorf, Θρᾳκίας Salmasius, Scaliger.

[1] Generally identified with Heracleia Lyncestis. F. Papazoglu, *Živa Antika, Antiquité Vivante*, 4 (1954), 308-345, disputes this identification. He places Heracleia Lyncestis near Bitolj (Monastir), and locates Pelagonia somewhat to the north-east, in the district of Morihovo. See J. and L. Robert, *REG*, 1956, p. 137, no. 149.

[2] This is wrong. The Fasti Triumphales date the triumph

Pelagonia[1] of the fourth; here four governors were established and here the taxes were collected. Troops were stationed on the border regions of Macedonia because of the hostility of the neighbouring tribes.

Subsequently Aemilius, after arranging splendid games and revelries for the assembled multitude, sent off to Rome whatever treasure had been discovered, and when he himself arrived, along with his fellow generals, he was ordered by the senate to enter the city in triumph. Anicius first,[2] and Octavius, the commander of the fleet, celebrated each his triumph for a single day, but the very wise Aemilius celebrated his for three days. On the first day the procession opened with twelve hundred waggons filled with embossed[3] white shields, then another twelve hundred filled with bronze shields, and three hundred more laden with lances, pikes, bows, and javelins; as in war, trumpeters led the way. There were many other waggons as well, carrying arms of various sorts, and eight hundred panoplies mounted on poles.[4] On the second day there were carried in procession a thousand talents of coined money, twenty-two hundred talents of silver, a great number of drinking-cups, five hundred waggons loaded with divers statues

of Aemilius on 28-30 November, of Cn. Octavius on 1 December, and that of L. Anicius Gallus over Gentius and the Illyrians on the feast of the Quirinalia, in the following February. Cp. also Livy, 45. 40-43.

[3] Perhaps "rough," if the shields were of hide. There was a famous Macedonian corps of Leucaspides, and the Thracians at Pydna were distinguished by their gleaming white shields (Plutarch, *Aemilius*, 18). Plutarch sets the display of captured arms, including both Macedonian and Thracian, on the second day of the triumph (*ibid.* 32).

[4] The sense, as Wesseling saw, is determined by *frag. sedis inc.* 8, which probably belongs here.

κόσιαι, ἀσπίδες τε χρυσαῖ καὶ πίνακες ἀναθεματι-
12 κοὶ πάμπολλοι. τῇ τρίτῃ προηγοῦντο λευκαὶ βόες
εὐπρεπεῖς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, χρυσοῦ τάλαντα ἐν φορή-
μασι διακοσίοις εἴκοσι, φιάλη δέκα ταλάντων χρυ-
σοῦ διάλιθος, χρυσωμάτων παντοῖαι κατασκευαὶ
ταλάντων δέκα, ἐλεφάντων ὀδόντες δισχίλιοι τρι-
πήχεις, ἅρμα ἐλεφάντινον ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθων,
ἵππος φαλάροις διαλίθοις καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ κατασκευῇ
διαχρύσῳ πολεμικῶς κεκοσμημένος, κλίνη χρυσῆ
στρωμναῖς πολυανθέσι κατεστρωμένη, φορεῖον χρυ-
σοῦν περιπεπετασμένον πορφύραν, ἐφ' οἷς Περσεὺς
ὁ δυστυχὴς βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων ἅμα δυσὶν υἱοῖς
καὶ θυγατρὶ μιᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι διακοσίοις πεντή-
κοντα, στέφανοι τετρακόσιοι δοθέντες ἐκ τῶν
πόλεων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Αἰμίλιος
ἐφ' ἅρματος ἐλεφαντίνου καταπληκτικοῦ.[1]

(Georgius Syncellus, pp. 508-511 Dind.)

13 Ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζοντας τὴν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐπιμέλειαν ὁ στρατηγὸς Αἰμίλιος ἀπεφήνατο τῆς αὐτῆς εἶναι ψυχῆς ἀγῶνάς τε τάξαι κατὰ τρόπον καὶ τὰ κατὰ πότον[2] οἰκείως χειρίσαι καὶ παρατάξασθαι τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις στρατηγικῶς.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 372.)

9. Ὅτι Περσέα τὸν τελευταῖον Μακεδονίας βασιλέα, πολλάκις Ῥωμαίοις διὰ φιλίας ἰόντα, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἀναξιολόγῳ πολεμήσαντα, τέλος Αἰμίλιος καταπολεμήσας εἷλε, καὶ λαμπρὸν θρίαμβον ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ κατήγαγε. Περσεὺς δὲ τηλικαύταις περιπεσὼν συμφοραῖς ὥστε δοκεῖν

[1] So Herwerden: καταπλήκτου.
[2] So Dindorf (cp. Polybius, 30. 14): τύπον V.

of gods and men, and a large number of golden shields and dedicatory plaques. On the third day the procession was made up of one hundred and twenty choice white oxen, talents of gold conveyed in two hundred and twenty carriers, a ten-talent bowl of gold set with jewels, gold-work of all sorts to the value of ten talents, two thousand elephant tusks three cubits in length, an ivory chariot enriched with gold and precious stones, a horse in battle array with cheek-pieces set with jewels and the rest of its gear adorned with gold, a golden couch spread with flowered coverlets, and a golden palanquin with crimson curtains. Then came Perseus, the hapless king of the Macedonians, with his two sons, a daughter, and two hundred and fifty of his officers, four hundred garlands presented by the various cities and monarchs, and last of all, in a dazzling chariot of ivory, Aemilius himself.

Aemilius remarked to those who were amazed at the care he devoted to the spectacle[1] that to conduct games in proper fashion and to make suitable arrangements for a revelry call for the same qualities of mind that are needed to marshal one's forces with good strategy against an enemy.

9. Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, whose relations with the Romans were often amicable, but who also repeatedly fought against them with a not inconsiderable army, was finally defeated and taken captive by Aemilius, who for this victory celebrated a magnificent triumph. The misfortunes that Perseus encountered were so great that his sufferings seem

[1] The triumphal games celebrated at Amphipolis; cp. above, chap. 8. 9, and Polybius, 30. 14; Livy, 45. 32; Plutarch, *Aemilius*, 28.

ὅμοια μύθοις ἀγενήτοις εἶναι τὰ πάθη τὰ περὶ αὐτόν, οὐδ' ὣς[1] ἀπολυθῆναι τοῦ ζῆν ἤθελε. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διαλαβεῖν ὃ χρὴ παθεῖν, τῶν κατὰ πόλιν στρατηγῶν εἷς ἐνέβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ἐν Ἄλβαις κάρκαρον μετὰ τῶν
2 τέκνων. ἔστι δὲ ὁ κάρκαρος ὄρυγμα κατάγειον βαθύ, τὸ μὲν μέγεθος ἔχον οἴκου μάλιστά πως ἐννεακλίνου, σκότου δὲ πλῆρες καὶ δυσοσμίας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παραδεδομένων εἰς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπὶ θανατικοῖς ἐγκλήμασι καταδικαζομένων, ὧν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις οἱ πλείους ἐνταῦθα καθείργνυντο· ἐν οὕτω γὰρ στενῷ τόπῳ[2] συγκεκλεισμένων πολλῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεθηριοῦτο τὰ τῶν ἀτυχῶν σώματα, τῶν τε πρὸς τροφὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν χρείαν ἀνηκόντων πάντων ἐν ταὐτῷ πεφυρμένων τοσαύτην προσπίπτειν δυσωδίαν συνέβαινεν ὥστε μηδένα τῶν προσιόντων ῥᾳδίως
3 δύνασθαι καρτερῆσαι. ἐφ' ἡμέρας μὲν οὖν ἑπτὰ διετέλεσεν ἐνταῦθα κακουχούμενος, ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐσχάτων καὶ τακτὰ[3] σιτουμένων ἐπικουρίας δεηθῆναι· συμπαθεῖς γὰρ οὗτοι γινόμενοι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀκληρημάτων, ὧν μετελάμβανον, φιλανθρώπως τούτων ἐκείνῳ μετεδίδοσαν δακρύοντες. ἔρριπτο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ξίφος πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ κάλως πρὸς ἀγχόνην, ἐξουσίας διδομένης ὡς
4 βούλοιτο χρήσασθαι. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτω γλυκὺ φαίνεται τοῖς ἠτυχηκόσιν ὡς τὸ ζῆν, καίπερ αὐτῶν

[1] ὣς added by Nock.
[2] So Reiske: στενωπῷ.
[3] So Vulgate: τακατα A, τὰ ἔγκατα B.

like the inventions of fiction, yet even so he was not willing to be quit of life. For before the senate had decided on the penalty he should suffer, one of the urban praetors had him cast with his children into the prison at Alba.[1] This prison is a deep underground dungeon, no larger than a nine-couch room,[2] dark, and noisome from the large numbers committed to the place, who were men under condemnation on capital charges, for most of this category were incarcerated there at that period. With so many shut up in such close quarters, the poor wretches were reduced to the physical appearance of brutes, and since their food and everything pertaining to their other needs was all foully commingled, a stench so terrible assailed anyone who drew near that it could scarcely be endured. There for seven days Perseus remained, in such sorry plight that he begged succour even from men of the meanest stamp, whose food was the prison ration. They, indeed, affected by the magnitude of his misfortune, in which they shared, wept and generously gave him a portion of whatever they received. A sword with which to kill himself was thrown down to him, and a noose for hanging, with full freedom to use them as he might wish. Nothing, however, seems so sweet to those[3] who have suffered misfortune as life itself, even when their sufferings

[1] Alba Fucens, in central Italy. Other notable prisoners detained there were Syphax of Numidia (Livy, 30. 17) and Bituitus, king of the Arverni (Livy, *Per.* 61). For a possible identification of the dungeons see *L'Antiquité Classique*, 20 (1951), 72-74.
[2] *i.e.* a room capable of accommodating nine at dinner.
[3] "Those who," Photius; "some who," in the *Excerpta de Sententiis*, where this sentence appears, followed by "This was the case with Perseus, king of the Macedonians" (=chap. 9. 6).

ἄξια θανάτου πασχόντων. καὶ πέρας ἐν ταύταις ἂν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, εἰ μὴ Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος προκαθήμενος τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, τηρῶν τό τε περὶ αὑτὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιεικές, παρῄνεσε τῇ συγκλήτῳ σχετλιάζων, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φόβον[1] εὐλαβοῦνται, τήν γε τοὺς ὑπερηφάνως ταῖς ἐξουσίαις χρωμένους μετερχο-
5 μένην νέμεσιν αἰδεῖσθαι. διόπερ εἰς ἐπιεικεστέραν δοθεὶς φυλακήν, καὶ κεναῖς ἐλπίσι προσανέχων, ὁμοίαν τοῖς προητυχημένοις ἔσχε τοῦ βίου τὴν καταστροφήν. διετῆ γὰρ χρόνον φιλοψυχήσας, καὶ προσκόψας τοῖς φυλάττουσι βαρβάροις, κωλυόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνων ὕπνου τυχεῖν ἐτελεύτησεν.

(Photius, *Bibl.* pp. 381-382 B.)

6 Ὅτι οὐδὲν οὕτω γλυκὺ φαίνεται τῶν ἠτυχηκότων ἐνίοις ὡς τὸ ζῆν, καίπερ αὐτῶν ἄξια θανάτου πασχόντων· ὅπερ συνέβη εἰς Περσέα τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα γενέσθαι. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 372.)

7 Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς εἰς τὸ κατάγειον ἐμβληθεὶς οἴκημα ἐκεῖσε ἂν κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, εἰ μὴ ὁ Αἰμίλιος προκαθήμενος τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τηρῶν τὸ περὶ αὑτὸν ἀξίωμα[2] καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιεικὲς παρῄνεσε τῇ συγκλήτῳ σχετλιάζων, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων φόβον εὐλαβοῦνται, τήν γε τοὺς ὑπερηφάνως ταῖς ἐξουσίαις χρωμένους μετερχομένην νέμεσιν αἰδεῖσθαι. διόπερ εἰς ἐπιεικεστέραν δοθεὶς φυλακὴν διὰ τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου χρηστότητα κεναῖς ἐλπίσι προσανεῖχεν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 281.)

[1] ψόγον or φθόνον Reiske.
[2] Valesius has τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀξίωμα (not recorded in Büttner-Wobst).

---

[1] M. Aemilius Lepidus was *princeps senatus* from 179 B.C.

would warrant death. And at last he would have died under these deprivations had not Marcus Aemilius,[1] leader of the senate, to maintain both his own principles and his country's code of equity, indignantly admonished the senate, even if they had nothing to fear from men, at least to respect the Nemesis that dogs those who arrogantly abuse their power. As a result, Perseus was placed in more suitable custody, and, because of the senate's kindness,[2] sustained himself by vain hopes, only to meet at last an end that matched his earlier misfortunes. For after clinging to life for two years, he offended the barbarians who were his guards, and was prevented from sleeping until he died of it.[3]

Plutarch, however, ascribes to L. Aemilius Paullus the easing of Perseus' condition (*Aemilius*, 37). Unfortunately the praenomen is omitted in the parallel passage (chap. 9. 7) of the *Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, where the context of the citation is summarily indicated by the words: " Perseus, cast into the underground dungeon, would have died there, had not Aemilius . . ."

[2] This phrase is omitted by Photius.

[3] Sections 6 and 7 of chap. 9 are not translated separately, as they correspond to §§ 4-5, and any divergences in the text have already been noted.

10. Ὅτι ἀκμαζούσης τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλείας Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς ἐν τῷ Περὶ Τύχης ὑπομνήματι καθάπερ χρησμῳδῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῇ συμβησομένων εὐστόχως τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἀποπεφοίβακεν· Εἰ γὰρ λάβοις πρὸ τῆς ἐννοίας μὴ χρόνον ἄπειρον μηδὲ γενεὰς πολλάς, ἀλλὰ πεντήκοντα μόνον ἔτη ταυτὶ τὰ πρὸ ἡμῶν, γνοίης ἂν ὡς τὸ τῆς τύχης χαλεπὸν ἐνταῦθα· πεντηκοστῷ γὰρ ἔτει πρότερον οἴεσθ' ἂν ἢ[1] Πέρσας ἢ βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν ἢ Μακεδόνας ἢ βασιλέα τῶν Μακεδόνων, εἴ τις θεῶν αὐτοῖς προὔλεγε τὸ μέλλον, πιστεῦσαί ποτ' ἂν ὡς εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Περσῶν μὲν οὐδ' ὄνομα λειφθήσεται τὸ παράπαν, οἳ πάσης σχεδὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐδέσποζον, Μακεδόνες δὲ καὶ πάσης κρατήσουσιν, ὧν οὐδ' ὄνομα πρότερον ἦν γνώριμον;
2 ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἀδιαλόγιστος τύχη[2] καὶ πάντα παρὰ τὸν λογισμὸν τὸν ἡμέτερον καινοποιοῦσα καὶ τὴν αὑτῆς δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς παραδόξοις[3] ἐνδεικνυμένη καὶ νῦν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,[4] ὁμοίως ἐνδείκνυται Μακεδόνας εἰς τὴν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίαν ἐνοικίσασα, διότι καὶ τούτοις[5] ἡ τύχη τἀγαθὰ κέχρηκεν ἕως ἂν ἄλλο τι βουλεύσηται περὶ αὐτῶν. ὃ συνέβη κατὰ τοὺς νῦν χρόνους συντελεσθῆναι. διόπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκρίναμεν τῇ περιστάσει ταύτῃ τὸν ἁρμόζοντα λόγον ἐπιφθέγξασθαι καὶ τῆς ἀποφάσεως τῆς Δημητρίου μνησθῆναι, μείζονος οὔσης

[1] οἴεσθ' ἂν ἢ Dindorf (cp. Polybius 29. 21): οἶσθα μὴ V.
[2] ἀδιαλόγιστος τύχη Post: ἀναλογία τῆς τύχης V, ἀλογία τῆς τύχης Mai, ἀσύνθετος τύχη Polybius, *l.c.*
[3] So Mai (cp. Polybius, *l.c.*): ἐνδόξοις V.

10. While the kingdom of the Macedonians was at its height, Demetrius of Phalerum,[1] in his treatise *On Fortune*, as if he were a true prophet of its future, aptly made this inspired pronouncement: "If," he said, "you were to consider, not some limitless expanse of time nor yet many generations, but merely these fifty years just past, you would perceive therein the inscrutability of Fortune. Fifty years ago, do you think that the Persians or the king of the Persians, the Macedonians or the king of the Macedonians, if some god had foretold the future, would ever have believed that at this moment not even the name of the Persians, who were then the masters of well-nigh the whole inhabited world, would still survive, and that the Macedonians, whose very name was formerly unknown, would indeed rule all? But nevertheless Fortune, who with her unforeseeable effect upon our lives disappoints our calculations by her shifts and demonstrates her power by marvellous and unexpected events, is now also, in my opinion, pointing much the same moral—that in seating the Macedonians on the throne of the Persians she has but lent them her riches to be used until such time as she changes her mind about them." The fulfilment came to pass in the period with which we are now concerned. Accordingly I judge it my duty to make some comment appropriate to this situation, and to recall the statement of Demetrius, an utter-

[1] The Athenian statesman and writer, born *c.* 350 B.C. For the fragments of his works see Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 228. Diodorus here follows Polybius, 29. 21.

[4] Dindorf adds ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ but omits ὁμοίως (cp. Polybius, *l.c.*): ὡς ὁμοίως V.
[5] So Dindorf: τούτους V.

ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον· προεῖπε γὰρ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα πρότερον[1] ἔτεσι περὶ τῶν ὕστερον συμβησομένων.

11. Ὅτι τῶν τοῦ Αἰμιλίου παίδων τῶν δύο παραδόξως τελευτησάντων, καὶ τοῦ δήμου παντὸς διαφερόντως συναλγοῦντος, ὁ πατὴρ τούτων συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν ᾗ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων ἀπολογισάμενος ἐπὶ τέλους διεξῆλθε τοιούτους τινὰς λόγους. ἔφη γὰρ ἑαυτὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μέλλοντα περαιοῦν τὰς δυνάμεις ἀποθεωρῆσαι[2] τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τότε τὸν πλοῦν ποιησάμενον[3] ἐνάτης ὥρας καταπλεῦσαι μηδενὸς ἀπολειφθέντος εἰς Κέρκυραν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τεταρταῖον ἐν Δελφοῖς καλλιερήσαντα τῷ θεῷ μετὰ πέντε ἡμέρας εἰς Μακεδονίαν γενέσθαι[4] καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὰς δυνάμεις, ἐν ἡμέραις δὲ ταῖς ἁπάσαις πεντεκαίδεκα βιάσασθαι τὰ στενὰ τὰ[5] κατὰ τὴν Πέτραν καὶ παρατάξασθαι καὶ νικῆσαι Περσέα· καθόλου δὲ τέταρτον ἔτος[6] ἀντοφθαλμοῦντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἑαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς προειρημέναις ἡμέραις ἀπεφήνατο κεκυριευκέναι πάσης Μακεδονίας.
2 καὶ τότε μὲν θαυμάζειν ἔφη τὸ παράλογον τῶν κατορθωμάτων· ὡς δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον κύριος ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῆς βασιλείας γάζης, πολὺ μᾶλλον θαυμάζειν τὴν εὔροιαν τῆς τύχης· διακομισθέντων δὲ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀβλαβῶς καὶ ταχέως, τόθ' ὁλοσχερῶς διαπορεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ πάντα κάλλιον ἢ

[1] πρότερον added by Boissevain (cp. Polybius, *l.c.*).
[2] So Dindorf: ἀποθεωρήσας V.
[3] So Dindorf: ποιησάμενος V.
[4] Herwerden suggests παραγενέσθαι or ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ.

ance of more than human inspiration. For a hundred and fifty years in advance he foretold what was to occur.

11. The two sons of Aemilius having suddenly died,[1] to the great grief of the entire populace, their father called a public assembly, where, after giving a defence of his actions in the war, he concluded his address with the following remarks. He said, namely, that after seeing the sun rise as he was about to begin transporting his army from Italy to Greece, he had then made the voyage, and at the ninth hour, without a single loss, had put in at Corcyra; thence on the fourth day he had offered sacrifice to the god at Delphi; five days later had arrived in Macedonia and taken command of the forces; and within a total of fifteen days had forced the pass at Petra, given battle, and defeated Perseus. In sum, though it was then the fourth year of the king's defiance of the Romans, he, Aemilius, had subdued the whole of Macedon in the aforesaid number of days. Even at the time, he said, he marvelled at the unexpectedness of his victories, and when, shortly thereafter, he captured the king, his children, and the royal treasure, he marvelled even more at the favourable tide of fortune. When, further, the treasure and his soldiers were conveyed safely and swiftly across to Italy, he was utterly puzzled by the fact that the whole affair was being brought to an end so much more fortunately

[1] Of the two younger sons one died five days before the triumph of Aemilius, one three days after it: Plutarch, *Aemilius*, 35-36; Livy, 45. 40-41.

[5] τὰ added by Dindorf.
[6] τέταρτον ἔτος Boissevain (cp. Livy, 45. 41): τεταρταῖος V, which Dindorf deletes.

προσεδόκα συντελεῖσθαι, πάντων[1] δὲ συγχαιρόντων καὶ μακαριζόντων τὴν εὐποτμίαν αὐτοῦ τότε μάλιστα προσδέχεσθαι παρὰ τῆς τύχης σύμπτωμα· διόπερ προσεύχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τῶν μὲν δημοσίων εἰς μηδὲν ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν μεταβολήν, ἀλλ' εἰ πάντως αὐτῷ τι[2] πρᾶξαι δέδοκτο δυσχερές, τοῦτ' εἰς αὐτὸν
3 ἐναπερείσασθαι. διόπερ ἅμα τῷ γενέσθαι τὴν περὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀτυχίαν ἐπὶ μὲν ταύτῃ διαφερόντως λυπηθῆναι, περὶ δὲ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος πραγμάτων εὐθαρσὴς εἶναι καθ' ὅσον ἡ τύχη τὴν παλίρροιαν καὶ τὸν φθόνον οὐκ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ἴδιον ἐκείνου βίον ἀπέσκηψεν. τούτων ῥηθέντων πᾶς ὁ δῆμος τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν αὐτοῦ ἐθαύμασεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς παισὶ πολλαπλάσιον ἔσχε συμπάθειαν.

12. Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν Περσέως ἧτταν Εὐμένης ὁ βασιλεὺς μεγάλαις καὶ παραδόξοις ἐχρήσατο μεταβολαῖς. ὑπολαβὼν γὰρ ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ κατακεῖσθαι τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρχήν, ὡς ἂν τῆς πολεμιωτάτης αὐτῷ βασιλείας καταλελυμένης, τότε μεγίστοις περιέπεσε κινδύνοις. ἀγαθὴ γὰρ ἡ τύχη τὰ βεβηκέναι δοκοῦντα ἀσφαλῶς ἀνατρέψαι, κἂν[3] συναγωνίσηταί τι, πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἀντισηκοῦν καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι τὰ κατορθωθέντα. (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 373-374.)

13. Ὅτι ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων Γαλατῶν στρατηγὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ διωγμοῦ γενόμενος καὶ συναθροίσας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πρᾶξιν ἐπετελέσατο βαρβαρικὴν καὶ παντελῶς ὑπερήφανον. τούς τε γὰρ τοῖς εἴδεσι

[1] So Dindorf: τῶν V.

than he had expected. But when all men joined in rejoicing with him, and felicitated him on his good fortune, then above all did he look for some calamity from destiny, and therefore he implored the god that the reversal might not in any way affect the state, but rather, if it was certainly the divine pleasure to bring some hardship to pass, that the burden might fall on him. Accordingly, as soon as this misfortune touching his sons took place, while it was a matter of deep grief to him, yet with regard to the state and its concerns he was now reassured, inasmuch as Fortune had visited her recoil and her malice, not upon the citizen body, but on his own person. As he said this, the whole people marvelled at his greatness of soul, and their sympathy at his loss was increased many times over.

12. After the defeat of Perseus, King Eumenes 168–166 B.C.
experienced great and unexpected reverses.[1] For whereas he assumed that his dominion was securely established, now that the kingdom most hostile to him had been broken up, at this very time he ran into very grave dangers. Fortune is indeed given to overturning such institutions as seem to be securely established, and again, if ever she lends a helping hand to a man, she redresses the balance by shifting, and so mars his record of success.

13. The general of the barbarous Gauls, returning from his pursuit, gathered the prisoners together and perpetrated an act of utter inhumanity and arrogance. Those of the prisoners who were most hand-

[1] Especially his disfavour at Rome, and the Gallic uprising of 168–166 B.C. The passage is based on Polybius, 29. 22.

[2] αὐτῷ τι Boissevain: αὐτῇ V, αὖ τι Dindorf.
[3] So Dindorf: καὶ V.

καλλίστους καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀκμαιοτάτους καταστέψας[1] ἔθυσε τοῖς θεοῖς, εἴ γέ τις τῶν θεῶν δέχεται τὰς τοιαύτας τιμάς· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους πάντας κατηκόντισεν, πολλῶν[2] μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς γνωριζομένων διὰ τὰς προγεγενημένας ἐπιξενώσεις, οὐδενὸς δὲ διὰ τὴν φιλίαν ἐλεουμένου. καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν εἰ βάρβαροι παρ' ἐλπίδας κατορθώσαντες ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν.

14. Ὅτι ὁ Εὐμένης ξενολογήσας τά τε ὀψώνια ἅπασιν ἀπέδωκε καὶ δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε καὶ ἐπαγγελίαις ἐψυχαγώγει πάντας, ἐκκαλούμενος τὴν εὔνοιαν, οὐχ ὁμοίως τῷ Περσεῖ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ δισμυρίων Γαλατῶν παραγενομένων εἰς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἀπετρίψατο τὴν τηλικαύτην συμμαχίαν, ἵνα φείσηται τῶν χρημάτων· ὁ δὲ Εὐμένης οὐ λίαν εὐπορούμενος ξενολογῶν δωρεαῖς ἐτίμα τοὺς δυναμένους μάλιστα χρείας παρέχεσθαι. τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐ βασιλικὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην ἀλλ' ἰδιωτικὴν τοῦ τυχόντος ἀναλαβὼν μικροψυχίαν, ἅμα τῇ βασιλείᾳ πάσῃ καὶ τὸν τηρηθέντα πλοῦτον ἐπεῖδεν αἰχμάλωτον· οὗτος δὲ τῆς νίκης πάντα δεύτερα τιθέμενος οὐ μόνον ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων ἐρρύσατο τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἔθνος ὑποχείριον ἐποιήσατο.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 281-282.)

15. Ὅτι καὶ Προυσίας ὁ τῆς Βιθυνίας βασιλεὺς ἧκε συγχαρησόμενος τῇ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς τοὺς πολέμους κατορθώσασι στρατηγοῖς· οὗ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγεννὲς[3] οὐκ ἄξιον παραλιπεῖν ἀνεπισή-

[1] So Valesius: ἀκμαιότατα καταστρέψας P.
[2] So Valesius: πολλοῖς P.
[3] So Dindorf: ἀγενὲς V.

some in appearance and in the full bloom of life he crowned with garlands and offered in sacrifice to the gods—if indeed there be any god who accepts such offerings; all the rest he had shot down, and though many of them were acquaintances known to him through prior exchanges of hospitality, yet no one received pity on the score of friendship. It is really not surprising, however, that savages, in the flush of unexpected success, should celebrate their good fortune with inhuman behaviour.

14. Eumenes, having recruited a force of mercenary troops, not only gave all of them their pay, but honoured some with gifts and beguiled them all with promises, evoking their goodwill; in this he did not at all resemble Perseus. For Perseus, when twenty thousand Gauls arrived to join him in the war against Rome, alienated this great body of allies in order to husband his wealth.[1] Eumenes, however, though not over rich, when enlisting foreign troops honoured with gifts all who were best able to render him service. Accordingly, the former, by adopting a policy, not of royal generosity, but of ignoble and plebeian meanness, saw the wealth he had guarded taken captive together with his whole kingdom, while the latter, by counting all things else second to victory, not only rescued his kingdom from great dangers but also subjugated the whole nation of the Gauls.

15. Prusias,[2] king of Bithynia, also came to congratulate the senate and the generals who had brought the conflict to a successful issue. This man's ignobility of spirit must not be allowed to go without 167 B.C.

[1] See Book 30. 19.
[2] This account of Prusias II follows that of Polybius, 30. 18.

μαντον. τῆς μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπαινουμένης ἀρετῆς, πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων προάγονται πρὸς τὸν ὅμοιον ζῆλον, τῆς δὲ τῶν φαύλων ἀνανδρίας ὀνειδιζομένης, οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν πρὸς τὴν κακίαν ὁρμώντων ἀποτρέπονται. διὸ καὶ χρηστέον οὐ παρέργως τῇ τῆς ἱστορίας παρρησίᾳ πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 374-375.)

2 Ὅτι Προυσίας ἀνάξιος γεγονὼς τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας προσχήματος καὶ διατελέσας πάντα τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον αἰσχρῶς κολακεύων τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας, καί ποτε Ῥωμαίων πρὸς αὐτὸν παραγενομένων πρεσβευτῶν, τὰ μὲν τῆς βασιλείας σύμβολα, τό τε διάδημα καὶ τὴν πορφύραν, ἀπέθετο, μιμησάμενος δὲ τὴν τῶν προσφάτως ἀπελευθερουμένων παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τάξιν ἀπήντησεν ἐξυρημένος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ πίλεον[1] ἔχων λευκόν, ἔτι δὲ φορῶν τήβενναν καὶ καλίκιον,[2] ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέφαινεν ἑαυτὸν ἀπελεύθερον εἶναι Ῥωμαίων· ἧς ἀγεννεστέραν[3] φωνὴν οὐ ῥᾴδιον εὑρεῖν.

3 Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις οἰκεῖα πρότερον διεπράξατο, καὶ τότε δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον γενόμενος τὴν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, κατὰ τὸ θύρετρον ἀντίον στὰς τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ καθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας προσεκύνησε τὸν οὐδὸν καὶ τοὺς καθημένους ἐπιφθεγξάμενος, Χαίρετε θεοὶ σωτῆρες, ὑπερβολὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀπολιπὼν κολακείας ἀνάνδρου καὶ γυναικισμοῦ. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ ποιησάμενος, τοιαῦτα διῆλθεν ὥστε καὶ γράφειν ἡμῖν ἀπρεπὲς εἶναι. ἡ δὲ

comment. For when the virtue of good men is praised, many in later generations are guided to strive for a similar goal; and when the poltroonery of meaner men is held up to reproach, not a few who are taking the path of vice are turned aside. Accordingly the frank language of history should of set purpose be employed for the improvement of society.

Prusias was a man unworthy of the royal dignity, and throughout his entire life continually engaged in abject flattery of those above him. Once, for example, when visited by a Roman embassy, he laid aside the insignia of royalty, the diadem and the purple, and in imitation of newly emancipated freedmen at Rome went to meet the envoys with shaven head and wearing a white cap, a toga, and Roman shoes; having greeted them, he declared that he was a freedman of the Romans. A more ignoble remark it would be difficult to imagine.

Much else in his earlier behaviour was in the same vein, and now also, when he reached the entrance leading into the senate chamber, he stood in the doorway facing the senators, and lowering both hands kissed the threshold in obeisance and greeted the seated members with the words: "Hail, ye saviour gods," thereby achieving unsurpassable depths of unmanly fawning and effeminate behaviour. In keeping with this conduct was the speech that he delivered before the senate, in which he related things of such a nature that it is not fitting for us even to record them. The senate, offended by

---

[1] So Ursinus: πόλιον O.

[2] So Einarson (cp. Polybius, 30. 18. 3): κάντιλον or καύτιλον MSS., κάλτιον Wesseling.

[3] So Dindorf: ἀγενεστέραν O.

σύγκλητος τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν λεγομένων προσκόπτουσα καὶ τοῦ Προυσίου καταγινώσκουσα πρεπούσας τῇ κολακείᾳ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐποιήσατο· Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ καὶ πολεμίους ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ μεγαλοφρονοῦντας νικᾶν σπεύδουσιν.

(*Const. Exc.* 1, p. 80.)

15a. Ὅτι τῶν φίλων Πτολεμαίου Διονύσιος ὁ καλούμενος Πετοσάραπις[1] ἐπεχείρησεν ἐξιδιοποιεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα· παρὸ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ μεγάλους κινδύνους περιέστησεν. ἰσχύων γὰρ μάλιστα τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ πάντων Αἰγυπτίων προέχων ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον κινδύνοις κατεφρόνησε τῶν βασιλέων ἀμφοτέρων διά τε τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν. προσποιηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου[2] παρακεκλῆσθαι πρὸς φόνον ἐμφύλιον διέδωκε λόγον εἰς τὰ πλήθη, φάσκων ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι τὸν νεώτερον
2 Πτολεμαῖον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. συνδραμόντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὸ στάδιον, καὶ πάντων παροξυνθέντων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀνελεῖν μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτερον, ἐγχειρίσαι δὲ τῷ νεωτέρῳ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀπαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπελογεῖτο μετὰ δακρύων, μὴ πιστεύειν τῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιχειροῦντι σφετερίσασθαι καὶ τῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡλικίας καταπεφρονηκότι· εἰ δ' ἔτι διστάζων τῇ διανοίᾳ φοβεῖται,[3] παραλαμβάνειν αὐτὸν
3 ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ μειρακίου τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπολύοντος τῆς

[1] So Müller: πετοσάρατης S.
[2] So Feder, Müller: πρεσβύτου S.
[3] So Dindorf: φοβῆται S.

most of his remarks, and forming an unfavourable impression of Prusias, gave him the answer that his flattery deserved. For the Romans desire even the enemies whom they conquer to be men of high spirit and bravery.

15a. Dionysius, also called Petosarapis, one of the (?)
" Friends " of Ptolemy, attempted to win control of the state for himself, and thus brought the kingdom into great danger.[1] Wielding, as he did, the greatest influence of anyone at court, and being without a peer among his fellow Egyptians on the field of battle, he scorned both the kings because of their youth and inexperience. Pretending that he had been urged by the elder to shed kindred blood, he spread word among the populace to the effect that a plot against the younger Ptolemy was being hatched by his brother. The populace assembled in haste at the stadium, and when they had all been aroused to such a pitch that they were preparing to kill the elder brother and entrust the kingdom to the younger, word of the disturbance having now been brought to the court, the king summoned his brother, and protesting his innocence with tears in his eyes, begged him not to give credence to one who was seeking to usurp the royal power, and who treated them both as too young to matter; in case, however, his brother still harboured any doubts and apprehensions, he urged him to accept at his own hand the diadem and the rule. The youth at once cleared his brother of any suspicion, and both of them, donning

[1] This incident is not elsewhere recorded, and can be dated only to the period (*c.* 169–164 B.C.) of the joint rule of Philometor and Euergetes. Eleusis lay just east of Alexandria, and was also the scene of Antiochus' humiliation in 168 B.C.

ὑποψίας, ἀμφότεροι βασιλικὰς ἀναλαβόντες στολὰς ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, φανερὸν ποιοῦντες πᾶσιν ὡς ὁμονοοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος ἀποτυχὼν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐκποδὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησε· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διαπεμπόμενος ἔπειθε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς οἰκείους ἀποστάσεως κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἐλπίδων, εἶτα εἰς Ἐλευσὶν ἀναχωρήσας προσεδέχετο τοὺς νεωτερίζειν προαιρουμένους, καὶ τῶν ταραχωδῶν στρατιω-

4 τῶν ἀθροισθέντων[1] εἰς τετρακισχιλίους . . . ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύσας καὶ νικήσας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνελὼν τοὺς δὲ διώξας, συνηνάγκασε τὸν Διονύσιον γυμνὸν διανήξασθαι τὸ ῥεῖθρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν εἰς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ποιησάμενον ἀνασείειν τὰ πλήθη πρὸς ἀπόστασιν. δραστικὸς δὲ ὢν καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς τετευχὼς παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ταχὺ πολλοὺς ἔσχε τοὺς κοινοπραγεῖν βουλομένους.

(*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 198-199.)

16. Ὅτι ἔνιαι τῶν ἐπιβολῶν τοῦ Ἀντιόχου καὶ τῶν πράξεων βασιλικαὶ καὶ θαυμάσιαι τελέως ἦσαν, τινὲς δὲ πάλιν οὕτως εὐτελεῖς καὶ ληρώδεις ὥσθ' ὁλοσχερῶς ὑπὸ πάντων καταφρονεῖσθαι. συντελῶν γὰρ τοὺς ἀγῶνας πρῶτον μὲν ἐναντίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι ἔσχε προαίρεσιν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ αὔξοντες τὴν ἰδίαν βασιλείαν καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρημάτων πλήθεσι, καθὸ οἷοί τ' ἦσαν ἐπεκρύπτοντο τὴν αἵρεσιν[2] διὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπεροχήν· οὗτος δὲ τὴν

their royal robes, went out and appeared before the populace, making it manifest to one and all that they were in harmony. Dionysius, on failing in his attempt, placed himself out of reach, and at first, sending messages to those soldiers who were ripe for rebellion, he sought to persuade them to share his hopes; then, withdrawing to Eleusis, he welcomed all who decided in favour of revolution, and when a band of turbulent soldiers some four thousand strong had been assembled . . . The king marched out against them and was victorious, slaying some and putting others to flight; Dionysius himself was obliged to swim naked across the flowing river and to withdraw into the interior,[1] where he tried to incite the masses to revolt. Being a man of action and finding himself popular with the Egyptians, he soon enlisted many who were willing to share his fortunes.

16. Certain of the enterprises and acts of Antiochus 166 or
were kingly and altogether admirable, while others 165 B.C.
again were so cheap and so tawdry as to bring upon him the utter scorn of all mankind. For example, in celebrating his festal games[2] he adopted, in the first place, a policy contrary to that of the other kings. They, while strengthening their kingdoms both in arms and in wealth, as far as possible tried to conceal their intentions because of the superiority of Rome.

[1] Literally, "among the Egyptians," the capital being known as "Alexandria beside Egypt."

[2] The famous games held at Daphne, near Antioch, in emulation of the Macedonian games of Aemilius (Book 31. 8. 9 and 13). The account of Polybius (30. 25-26) is somewhat fuller.

[1] ἀθροισθέντας Müller.

[2] So Wesseling: διαίρεσιν P, ἰδίαν αἵρεσιν Herwerden.

ἐναντίαν λαβὼν διάθεσιν συνήγαγεν σχεδὸν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν, καὶ[1] πάντα τὰ τοῦ βασιλείου[2] μέρη διαφερόντως ἐκόσμησεν, εἰς ἕνα δὲ τόπον ἀθροίσας καὶ καθάπερ ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἀναβιβάσας τὴν βασιλείαν ἅπασαν ἐποίησε μηδὲν ἀγνοεῖν τῶν περὶ αὐτόν.

2 Ὅτι τοὺς πολυτελεῖς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν θαυμαστὴν πανήγυριν ἐκτελέσας ὁ Ἀντίοχος πάντας τοὺς πρὶν[3] ὑπερέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ χειρισμὸς πολλῆς εὐτελείας καὶ καταφρονήσεως ἦν οἰκεῖος. παρέτρεχε γὰρ παρὰ τὴν πομπὴν[4] ἱππάριον ἔχων εὐτελὲς καὶ τοὺς μὲν προάγειν κελεύων, τοὺς δὲ ἐπέχειν, ἄλλους δὲ ὡς ἔτυχε διατάττων· ὥστε εἴ τις ἀφεῖλεν αὐτοῦ τὸ διάδημα, μηδέν' ἂν[5] τῶν ἀγνοούντων πιστεῦσαι τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν βασιλέα τὸν τῶν ὅλων κύριον, ὁρῶντα μηδ' ὑπηρέτου μετρίου φαντασίαν ἔχοντα. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πότοις αὐτὸς ἐφιστάμενος ταῖς εἰσόδοις οὓς μὲν εἰσῆγεν οὓς δὲ ἀνέκλινεν, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους τοὺς τὰς παραθέσεις φέροντας διέταττεν.

3 ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις προσιὼν τοῖς εὐωχουμένοις, εἰ τύχοι, ποτὲ μὲν ἐκάθιζεν ποτὲ δὲ προσανέπιπτε. καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἀποτιθέμενος τὸ ποτήριον, ποτὲ δὲ ῥίπτων[6] τὸν ψωμὸν ἀνεπήδα καὶ μετανίστατο, καὶ περιῄει πάντα τὸν πότον,[7] προπόσεις λαμβάνων ὀρθός τε[8] καὶ τοῖς ἀκροάμασι προσπαίζων. καὶ δή ποτε προκοπτούσης ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἑστιάσεως καὶ τῶν πλειόνων ἤδη κεχωρισμένων, ἧκεν ὑπὸ τῶν

[1] καὶ added by Valesius. Dindorf[4] indicates a lacuna.
[2] So Salmasius: βασιλέως P.
[3] So Valesius: πρὴν P.
[4] So Valesius (cp. Polybius, 30. 26): σιωπὴν P.
[5] μηδέν' ἂν Herwerden: μηδένα P.
[6] So Salmasius: νίπτων P.

He, however, taking the opposite approach, brought together at his festival the most distinguished men from virtually the whole world, adorned all parts of his capital in magnificent fashion, and having assembled in one spot, and, as it were, put upon the stage his entire kingdom, left them ignorant of nothing that concerned him.

In putting on these lavish games and this stupendous festival Antiochus outdid all earlier rivals. Yet for him personally to manage the affair was a shabby business, worthy of contempt. He would, for example, ride at the side of the procession on a sorry nag, ordering these men to advance, those to halt, and assigning others to their posts, as occasion required; consequently, but for the diadem, no one who did not already know him would have believed that this person was the king, lord of the whole domain, seeing that his appearance was not even that of an average subordinate. At the drinking parties, stationing himself at the entrance he would lead some of the guests in, seat others at their places, and assign to their posts the attendants who were serving food. Continuing in the same vein he would, on occasion, approach the banqueters, and sometimes sit down, sometimes recline beside them; then, laying aside his cup or tossing away his sop, he would leap to his feet and move on, and making the rounds of the whole party accept toasts even while he stood and jested with the entertainers. Indeed once, when the merrymaking was well advanced and the greater part of the guests had already departed, he made an entrance, all bundled up and carried in procession

[7] So Valesius (cp. Polybius, *l.c.*): τόπον P.
[8] ὀρθός τε Dindorf: ὀρθῶς δὲ P, ὀρθὸς Valesius.

μίμων ἐκφερόμενος[1] περικεκαλυμμένος· τεθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τῶν συμπαιζόντων, μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης ἀνεπήδα γυμνὸς καὶ τοῖς μίμοις προσπαίζων ὠρχεῖτο τῶν ὀρχήσεων τὰς γέλωτα[2] καὶ χλευασμὸν εἰωθυίας ἐπισπᾶσθαι, ὡς πάντας αἰσχυνθέντας ἐπὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις φεύγειν ἐκ τοῦ πότου, καὶ ἕκαστον[3] τῶν ἀπηντηκότων ἐπὶ τὴν πανήγυριν, ὅτε μὲν εἰς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς χορηγίας ἐμβλέψαι καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ πομπείαις οἰκονομίαν καὶ διάταξιν τῶν ὅλων, καταπλήττεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ὅτε δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀτενίσαι[4] καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων κατεγνωσμένον, ἀπιστεῖν εἰ περὶ μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν τοσαύτην ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ὑπάρξαι δυνατόν ἐστιν.

17. Ὅτι τούτων συντελεσθέντων[5] ἧκον οἱ τοῦ Γράκχου πρεσβευταὶ κατασκεψόμενοι τὴν βασιλείαν. οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡμίλησε φιλοφρόνως, ὥστε μηδὲν ὑποπτεῦσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ πραγματικὸν ἢ διαφορᾶς ἔμφασιν ἔχον[6] τῆς δοκούσης ὑποικουρεῖν ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον γενομένης προσκοπῆς.[7] οὐκ ἦν δὲ[8] τῇ προαιρέσει τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὐναντίον ἀλλοτριώτατα διέκειτο πρὸς Ῥωμαίους.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 282-284.)

17a. Ὅτι Ἀρτάξης ὁ τῆς Ἀρμενίας βασιλεὺς ἀποστὰς Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἔκτισεν ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ

[1] εἰσφερόμενος Dindorf (cp. Polybius, *l.c.*).
[2] So Salmasius, Valesius: γέλωτας P.
[3] So Valesius: ἕκαστος P.
[4] So Dindorf: ἀτενίσοι P.
[5] So Valesius: συνελθόντων P.

by the mimes. Placed on the ground by his fellow actors, as soon as the symphony sounded his cue he leapt to his feet naked, and jesting with the mimes performed the kind of dances that usually provoke laughter and hoots of derision—to the great embarrassment of the company, who all left the party in haste. Each and every person, in fact, who attended the festival found that when he regarded the extravagance of the outlay and the general management and administration of the games and processions, he was astounded, and that he admired both the king and the kingdom; when, however, he focused his attention on the king himself and his unacceptable behaviour, he could not believe that it was possible for such excellence and such baseness to exist in one and the same character.

17. After the games had ended, the embassy of Gracchus[1] arrived to investigate the kingdom. The king held friendly conversations with them, with the result that they caught no hint of intrigue on his part, nor anything to indicate such enmity as might be expected to exist covertly after the rebuff that he had received in Egypt. His true policy was not, however, what it appeared to be; on the contrary he was deeply disaffected towards the Romans.

17a. Artaxes,[2] the king of Armenia, broke away from Antiochus, founded a city named after himself, 165 B.C.

[1] Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, whose embassy visited Pergamum, Cappadocia, and Rhodes, as well as Syria. Cp. Polybius, 30. 27.
[2] The preferred form of the name is Artaxias, as elsewhere in Diodorus.

[6] So Salmasius, Valesius: ἔχων P.
[7] So Wesseling: προκοπῆς P.
[8] δὲ added by Valesius.

καὶ δυνάμεις ἁδρὰς συνήγαγεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἰσχύων κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ νικήσας ἠνάγκασε ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον.

17b. Ὅτι πάλιν ἄλλη κίνησις συνέστη κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα, ἐμπεσούσης ὁρμῆς τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς ἀπόστασιν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἀναζεύξας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μέρη τῆς Θηβαΐδος ῥᾳδίως προσηγάγετο, τῆς δὲ[1] καλουμένης Πανῶν πόλεως βεβηκυίας ἐπί τινος[2] ἀρχαίου χώματος καὶ δοκούσης ὀχυρᾶς εἶναι ἐκ δυσπροσίτου, συνέδραμον εἰς ταύτην οἱ πρακτικώτατοι τῶν ἀφεστηκότων. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τήν τε ἀπόνοιαν †ἐν[3] Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τοῦ τόπου τὴν ὀχυρότητα, συνίστατο πολιορκίαν καὶ πᾶσαν κακοπάθειαν ὑπομείνας ἐκράτησε τῆς πόλεως, κα κολάσας τοὺς αἰτίους ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.

(*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 199-200.)

Chap. 17c: see below, after Chap. 20.

7. 2. Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους πολλῶν παραγεγονότων πρεσβευτῶν, πρώτοις τοῖς περὶ Ἄτταλον ἐχρημάτισεν ἡ σύγκλητος· ὑπόπτως γὰρ εἶχον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη ἕνεκεν τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν εὑρημένων, ἐν οἷς συμμαχίαν ἦν συντεθειμένος πρὸς Περσέα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. κατηγορησάντων δὲ πλειόνων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας πρεσβευτῶν καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων παρὰ Προυσίου βασιλέως καὶ Γαλατῶν, οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀτ-

[1] τῆς δὲ] So Feder ("nisi aliqua exciderint"), Müller: καὶ τῆς S.

[2] So Feder, Müller: βεβηκίαν. σίτινος S.

[3] Feder suggests ἐννοῶν, Müller καίπερ τὴν . . . ἐννοήσας.

and assembled a powerful army. Antiochus, whose strength at this period was unmatched by any of the other kings, marched against him, was victorious, and reduced him to submission.

17b. Still another uprising occurred in the Thebaïd,[1] where an urge to revolt swept over the populace. King Ptolemy, moving against them in force, easily regained control of the rest of the Thebaïd. But the city known as Panonpolis stands upon an ancient mound and by reason of its inaccessibility was reputed to be secure; hence the most active of the rebels assembled there. Ptolemy, (observing ?) the desperation of the Egyptians and the strength of the place, prepared to besiege it, and after undergoing every kind of hardship captured the city. Then, having punished the ringleaders, he returned to Alexandria.

7. 2. At about this same time many embassies having arrived, the senate dealt first with that headed by Attalus.[2] For the Romans were suspicious of Eumenes because of the correspondence that had come to light, in which he had contracted an alliance with Perseus against Rome. Since charges had also been levelled at him by a good many of the envoys from Asia, in particular those sent out by King Prusias and by the Gauls, Attalus and his com- 164 B.C.

[1] This revolt need not be connected with that of Petosarapis (chap. 15a), but reveals the same pattern of native unrest, reflected also in the papyri of the period. The probable date is 165 B.C.

[2] This fragment, corresponding to Polybius, 31. 1, was misplaced by Dindorf.

ταλον ἐνδεχομένως ἀπολογησάμενοι πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων οὐ μόνον ἀπετρίψαντο τὰς διαβολάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμηθέντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν.[1] ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος οὐ κατὰ πᾶν ἔληγε τῆς κατ' Εὐμένους ὑποψίας, προχειρισαμένη δὲ Γάϊον ἐξαπέστειλε κατοπτεύσοντα[2] τὰ κατὰ τὸν Εὐμένη.

(*Const. Exc.* 1, pp. 402-403.)

Chap. 8: see above, after Chap. 7. 1.

18. Ὅτι τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπεσόντος καὶ πεζῇ ἀπερχομένου εἰς Ῥώμην, ἐγνώρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ Δημήτριος ὁ τοῦ Σελεύκου, καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ παράδοξον ἐποίησέ τι βασιλικὸν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς δεῖγμα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως. παραχρῆμα γάρ[3] προχειρισάμενος βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ διάδημα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἵππον πολυτελῆ χρυσοφάλαρον, μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων παίδων ἀπήντησε τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ. συμμίξας δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ διακοσίων σταδίων καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἀσπασάμενος παρεκάλει κοσμηθέντα τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας παρασήμοις ἀξίαν ἑαυτοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἴσοδον, ἵνα μὴ τελείως εὐκαταφρόνητος εἶναι δόξῃ. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν ἀπεδέξατο, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀπέσχε τοῦ δέξασθαί τι τῶν διδομένων ὥστε καὶ τὸν Δημήτριον ἠξίωσεν ἔν τινι[4] τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν πόλεων καταμεῖναι καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν μετ' αὐτοῦ.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 284.)

2 Ὅτι ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου, ἐκπεσὼν τῆς βασιλείας παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφοῦ, ἐν

[1] οἰκείαν Suidas, *s.v.* ἀπετρίψαντο: οἰκίαν O.
[2] So Dindorf: κατοπτεύσαντα O.
[3] γὰρ added by Valesius.
[4] So Valesius: τῆι P.

panions did all in their power to refute the charges, point by point, and not only cleared themselves of these calumnies but returned home laden with honours. The senate, however, did not entirely abate its suspicion of Eumenes, but appointed and sent out Gaius[1] to look into his affairs.

18. As King Ptolemy, now in exile, was approaching Rome on foot, Demetrius[2] the son of Seleucus 64/3 B.C.
recognized him, and shocked by his strange plight, gave a truly royal and magnificent example of his own character. For he prepared at once a royal costume and diadem, and in addition a valuable horse with trappings of gold, and with his family went out to meet Ptolemy. Encountering him at a distance of two hundred stades from the city and giving him a friendly salute, he urged him to adorn himself with the insignia of kingship, and make an entrance into Rome worthy of his rank, so that he might not be thought a person of no account whatever. Ptolemy appreciated his zeal, but was so far from accepting any part of the offer that he even asked Demetrius to remain behind in one of the towns along the way, and wanted Archias[3] and the others to remain with him.

Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, having been driven from the kingdom by his own brother, repaired to

[1] C. Sulpicius Galus. For his conduct on the mission see Polybius, 31. 6.
[2] The future Demetrius I Soter (162–150 B.C.), who had been sent to Rome as a hostage by his father Seleucus IV Philopator. He was a first cousin of Ptolemy VI Philometor, who on being forced by his brother Physcon to flee Egypt appealed to Rome.
[3] Possibly the same Archias who later, as Egyptian governor of Cyprus, tried to betray the island to Demetrius (Polybius, 33. 5).

ἰδιώτου σχήματι οἰκτρῷ κατήντησεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ σπάδωνος ἑνὸς καὶ τριῶν παίδων. πεπυσμένος δὲ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν τὸ κατάλυμα τὸ τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ τοπογράφου,[1] πρὸς τοῦτον ζητήσας κατέλυσε πεφιλοξενημένον[2] ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πλεονάκις ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπιδημίᾳ· ᾤκει δὲ ἐν ὑπερῴῳ στενῷ καὶ παντελῶς εὐτελεῖ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος
3 τῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μισθῶν. ὥστε τίς ἂν πιστεύσειεν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν νομιζομένοις ἀγαθοῖς ἢ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτριον εὐτυχοῦντας μακαριστοὺς ἡγήσαιτο; ὀξυτέραν γὰρ καὶ μείζονα μεταβολὴν τύχης καὶ περιπέτειαν οὕτως ἀνέλπιστον οὐκ ἄν τις ἑτέραν ῥᾳδίως εὕροι. οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ αἰτίας ἀξιολόγου γενομένης, τὸ τηλικοῦτο τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα πρὸς ἰδιωτικὴν ταπεινότητα τύχης ἐπεπτώκει, καὶ ὁ τοσαύταις μυριάσιν ἐλευθέρων ἐπιτάττων ἄφνω τρεῖς οἰκέτας ἔσχε μόνον περιλελειμμένους ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἰδίας τύχης ναυαγίων. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 375.)

18a. Polybius et Diodorus qui Bibliothecarum scribunt historias, narrant eum non solum contra Deum fecisse Judaeae, sed avaritiae facibus accensum, etiam templum Dianae in Elimaide, quod erat ditissimum, spoliare conatum: oppressumque a custodibus templi et vicinis circum gentibus, et quibusdam phantasiis atque terroribus versum in amentiam, ac postremum morbo interiisse, et hoc ei accidisse commemorant, quia templum Dianae violare conatus est.

(St. Jerome, *Commentary on Daniel*, Chap. 11. 36, Vol. 25, pp. 570-571 Migne.)

Chap. 19: see below, after Chap. 17c.

Rome in the miserable garb of a commoner, accompanied by but one eunuch and three slaves. Discovering while still on the way the address of Demetrius[1] the topographer, he sought him out and lodged with him, a man whom he had often entertained when he was resident in Alexandria; now, because rents at Rome were so high, he was living in a small and altogether shabby garret. In the light of this, who, pray, would put his faith in the things that the multitude consider good, or would regard as enviable those whose good fortune is more than average? Indeed, it would be hard to find a change in fortune sharper and greater than this, or a reversal so unexpected. For no cause or occasion worth mentioning, his high and kingly estate was brought down to the lowly fortune of a commoner, and he who commanded all those thousands of free men of a sudden had only three servants left him from the shipwreck of his personal fortune.

18a. Polybius and Diodorus, the authors of the *Historical Libraries*, relate that he[2] not only opposed the god in Judea but also, inflamed by the fires of avarice, tried to despoil the temple of Artemis, which was very rich, in Elymaïs. But thwarted by the guardians of the temple, and by the neighbouring peoples, he was driven mad by certain apparitions and terrors, and finally died of disease; and they state that this happened to him because he attempted to violate the temple of Artemis. 163 B.C.

[1] Valerius Maximus, 5. 1, identifies Ptolemy's host only as a *pictor Alexandrinus*. He was perhaps a landscape painter (see critical note) rather than a writer.
[2] Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

[1] *τοπιογράφου* Letronne. [2] So Mai: *πεφιλοξενημένος* V.

20. Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ἐναποθανόντος, Ἀσκληπιάδην τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως τεταγμένον ἤγαγον βοῶντα διότι Τιμόθεος τοῦτο τὸ δρᾶμα συντέθεικε[1] καὶ τὸ μειράκιον προκεκλημένος εἴη πρὸς ἄδικον καὶ ἀσεβῆ τιμωρίαν τἀδελφοῦ. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκ τούτου[2] κατ' ὀλίγον ἔννοιαν λαμβάνοντος τῆς ὅλης ῥᾳδιουργίας καὶ τοὺς ἀνήκεστα πάσχοντας ἐλεοῦντος, φοβηθέντες οἱ περὶ Τιμόθεον τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν καταιτιαθέντων ἀπολύσαντες τῶν βασάνων κατ' ἰδίαν ἐπανείλαντο. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 284.)

Chap. 21 : see below, after Chap. 19.

17c. Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Τιμοθέου[3] ἀναίρεσιν τὰ πλήθη . . . καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ δυσχεραίνοντες κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπὶ τοῖς τετολμημένοις κατὰ τἀδελφοῦ, τήν τε θεραπείαν τὴν βασιλικὴν περιέσπασαν καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτερον Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τῆς Κύπρου μετεπέμποντο. (*Const. Exc.* 3, p. 200.)

Chap. 18 : see above, after Chap. 7. 2.

19. Ὅτι λέγουσιν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλεῖς εἰς Κῦρον ἀναφέρειν τὸ γένος τὸν ἐν Πέρσαις, διαβεβαιοῦνται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ Περσῶν τῶν τὸν μάγον ἐπανελομένων ἑνὸς ὑπάρχειν ἀπόγονοι. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Κύρου συγγένειαν οὕτω

[1] So Reiske: συντέθηκε P.
[2] τοῦ Dindorf.
[3] So Feder: μοθέου S.

[1] This passage, of which the date (163 or 164/3 B.C.) is fixed by its position in the *Exc. de Virt. et Vit.* (between chaps. 18 and 21), almost certainly refers to Egypt, and not,

20. After Antipater died under torture, they carried off Asclepiades, the prefect of the city, loudly protesting that Timotheüs was the author of this tragedy and that it was he who had provoked the youth to take unjust and impious vengeance upon his brother. As the populace from this point on was little by little becoming aware of the utter knavery of their leaders and was beginning to regard the hapless victims with pity, Timotheüs and his associates, alarmed, put an end to their torture of the rest of the accused and had them done away with in private.[1]

17c. After the assassination of Timotheüs the populace . . . and being disgusted at Alexandria with the king for his shameless treatment of his brother, stripped him of his royal retinue and sent to recall the elder Ptolemy from Cyprus.

19. The kings of Cappadocia say that they trace their ancestry back to Cyrus the Persian, and also assert that they are descendants of one of the seven Persians who did away with the Magus.[2] Now as to

as Dindorf apparently assumed, to Cappadocia. Hence it belongs here with chap. 17c. The "youth" and his brother would then be Physcon and Ptolemy Philometor. Antipater is otherwise unknown. An Asclepiades (the same?) was *dioecetes* and *archisomatophylax* in October, 163 (Peremans-Van't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, 1. 21), *i.e.* after the restoration of Philometor, who according to W. Otto, *Abh. München*, N.F. 11 (1934), left Egypt in 164 and was recalled from Cyprus in mid-summer, 163 B.C. Timotheüs is perhaps Philometor's ambassador to Rome in 170 B.C. (Polybius, 28. 1), but cannot be the same as the agent of Orophernes (*infra*, chap. 32) who was still active in 158 B.C. (Polybius, 32. 10. 4.). —On the title ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως see Bengtson, *Die Strategie in d. hellenist. Zeit*, 3. 128 ff.

[2] The false Smerdis, who briefly usurped the throne of Persia in 522 B.C. (Herodotus, 3. 61 ff.).

καταριθμοῦνται. Καμβύσου τοῦ Κύρου πατρὸς ἀδελφὴν ὑπάρξαι γνησίαν Ἄτοσσαν· ταύτης δὲ καὶ Φαρνάκου τοῦ Καππαδοκίας βασιλέως γενέσθαι παῖδα Γάλλον, καὶ τούτου γενέσθαι Σμέρδιν, οὗ Ἀρτάμνην, τοῦ δὲ Ἀναφᾶν, ὃν καὶ διενεγκεῖν μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ τόλμῃ, γενέσθαι δ' ἕνα τῶν ἑπτὰ
2 Περσῶν. τὴν μὲν οὖν εἰς Κῦρον συγγένειαν οὕτω γενεαλογοῦσι καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἀναφᾶν, ᾧ[1] φασι δι' ἀνδρείαν συγχωρηθῆναι τὴν Καππαδοκίας δυναστείαν, ὥστε μὴ τελεῖν φόρους Πέρσαις. οὗ τελευτήσαντος ὁμώνυμος υἱὸς ἄρχει. μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν ἀπολειφθέντων δυεῖν υἱοῖν, Δατάμου καὶ Ἀριμναίου, διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν Δατάμην, ἄνδρα καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ κατ' ἄλλα μέρη τῆς βασιλείας ἐπαινούμενον, ὃς Πέρσαις διὰ μάχης ἐλθὼν καὶ λαμπρῶς κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀγωνισάμενος ἐν αὐτῇ τελευτᾷ. διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀριάμνης, οὗ γίνονται παῖδες Ἀριαράθης καὶ Ὁλοφέρνης· οὗτος δὲ ἔτη πεντήκοντα δυναστεύσας καὶ
3 μηδὲν ἔργον ἄξιον μνήμης πράξας τελευτᾷ. τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν υἱῶν Ἀριαράθης, ὃς φιλοστοργῆσαι διαφερόντως λέγεται τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ προάγειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας τάξεις· ὃν καὶ Πέρσαις κατ' Αἰγυπτίων ἀποσταλέντα συμμαχῆσαι μετὰ μεγάλων τιμῶν ἐπανελθεῖν, ἃς Ὦχος ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ὑπὲρ ἀνδρείας ἐδίδου, καὶ τὸν βίον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι λιπεῖν,

[1] So Wesseling: ὄν.

[1] Not named as one of the Seven in Herodotus, but an Onophas, apparently corresponding to the Otanes of Herodotus, 3. 70, heads the list of the "Seven" in Ctesias, *Persica*, 14. It may also be noted that the Otanes of Herodotus, 7. 62, presumably a kinsman, had a son Anaphes.

their connection with Cyrus, they count as follows. Cambyses the father of Cyrus had a sister, of legitimate birth, Atossa. To her and Pharnaces, king of Cappadocia, was born a son, Gallus; his son was Smerdis, his Artamnes, and his Anaphas,[1] a man of outstanding bravery and daring, who was one of the seven Persians. Such then is the pedigree they trace for their kinship with Cyrus and with Anaphas, to whom, they say, because of his valour the satrapy of Cappadocia was granted, with the understanding that no tribute would be paid to the Persians. After his death a son of the same name ruled. When he died, leaving two sons, Datames and Arimnaeus, Datames succeeded to the throne, a man who both in war and in the other spheres of royal duty won praise, and who, engaging the Persians in battle, fought brilliantly and died in battle. The kingdom passed to his son Ariamnes,[2] whose sons were Ariarathes and Holophernes; Ariamnes ruled for fifty years and died without achieving anything worthy of note. The throne passed to Ariarathes (I), the elder of his sons, who is said to have loved his brother with a surpassing love, and promoted him to the most prominent positions: thus he was sent to aid the Persians in their war against the Egyptians, and returned home laden with honours, which Ochus,[3] the Persian king, bestowed for bravery; he died in his

[2] The proper form of this family name, as found on coins, is Ariaramnes. Holophernes (just below) is a textual corruption of Orophernes.

[3] Artaxerxes III Ochus (358–338 B.C.). He was at war in Egypt in 351 and 343 B.C.

4 υἱοὺς ἐγκαταλιπόντα Ἀριαράθην καὶ Ἀρύσην. ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς καὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἔχων τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ γονὴ γνησία, τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων τἀδελφοῦ Ἀριαράθην υἱοποιεῖται. κατὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν καταπολεμεῖ μὲν Πέρσας, εἶτα καὶ τελευτᾷ, καὶ Περδίκκας ὁ τῶν ὅλων τότε ἡγούμενος Εὐμένη πέμπει Καππαδοκίας στρατηγόν. καὶ καταπολεμηθέντος Ἀριαράθου πεσόντος τε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, αὐτή τε ἡ Καππαδοκία καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα αὐτῆς ἔπεσεν
5 ὑπὸ Μακεδόνας. Ἀριαράθης δὲ ὁ τοῦ προβεβασιλευκότος υἱὸς ἀπελπίσας κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἀποχωρεῖ μετ' ὀλίγων πρὸς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τῶν περὶ τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ Περδίκκαν τελευτησάντων, Ἀντιγόνου δὲ καὶ Σελεύκου περισπωμένων, λαβὼν δύναμιν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀρμενίων Ἀρδοάτου, τὸν μὲν τῶν Μακεδόνων στρατηγὸν Ἀμύνταν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐξέβαλε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας ταχέως τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν
6 ἀρχὴν ἀνεκτήσατο. τούτῳ δὲ τριῶν παίδων γενομένων, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ πρεσβύτατος Ἀριάμνης· ὃς ἐπιγαμίαν πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ποιησάμενος τὸν ἐπονομασθέντα Θεόν, τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα Στρατονίκην συνῴκισε τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν υἱῶν Ἀριαράθῃ. ὑπάρχων δὲ φιλότεκνος διαφερόντως περιέθετο τῷ παιδὶ διάδημα, καὶ συνάρχειν πάντων τῶν τῆς βασιλείας προτερημάτων ἐπ' ἴσης

[1] Eumenes of Cardia, secretary to Philip II and to Alexander.

[2] Diodorus himself says (Book 18. 16) that Ariarathes was

native land, leaving two sons, Ariarathes and Aryses. Now his brother, the king of Cappadocia, having no legitimate offspring of his own, adopted Ariarathes, the elder son of his brother. At about this time Alexander of Macedon defeated and overthrew the Persians, and then died; Perdiccas, who at this point held the supreme command, dispatched Eumenes[1] to be military governor of Cappadocia. Ariarathes (I) was defeated, and fell in battle,[2] and 322 B.C. Cappadocia itself and the neighbouring regions fell to the Macedonians. Ariarathes (II), the son of the late king, regarding the situation as hopeless for the present, retired with a few followers to Armenia. Not long after, Eumenes and Perdiccas having died,[3] and Antigonus and Seleucus being elsewhere engaged, he obtained an army from Ardoates, king of Armenia, slew Amyntas, the Macedonian general, expelled the Macedonians from the land in short order, and recovered his original domain. Of his three sons Ariamnes, the eldest, inherited the kingdom; he arranged a marital alliance with Antiochus (called Theos), whose daughter Stratonicê he married to his eldest c. 255 B.C. son Ariarathes (III). And being a man unusually devoted to his children, he placed the diadem upon his son's head, made him joint ruler, and shared with him on equal terms all the privileges of kingship.[4]

captured by Perdiccas and impaled. According to Hieronymus of Cardia (Jacoby, *FGH*, no. 154. 4) he was 82 at the time of his death.

[3] Perdiccas died in 321, Eumenes in 316 B.C., but Bengtson (*Die Strategie in d. hellenist. Zeit*, 2. 77-78) puts the defeat of Amyntas much later, *c.* 260 B.C.

[4] Ariarathes III is generally considered the first king of a sovereign Cappadocia. The recognition of its independence was probably a consequence of this alliance with Antiochus II Theos (261–247/6 B.C.).

μεταδίδωσι. τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος, Ἀρια-
ράθης βασιλεύει καθ' ἑαυτόν, καὶ μεταλλάσσων τὸν
βίον κατέλιπε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀριαράθῃ τῷ υἱῷ,
7 νηπίῳ παντελῶς ὄντι τὴν ἡλικίαν. οὗτος δὲ ἔγημε
θυγατέρα τοῦ Μεγάλου κληθέντος Ἀντιόχου, ὀνο-
μαζομένην Ἀντιοχίδα, πανοῦργον μάλιστα. ταύτην
δὲ μὴ γινομένων τέκνων· ὑποβαλέσθαι[1] δύο παῖδας
ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἀριαράθην καὶ Ὁλοφέρνην.
μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον τῆς φύσεως ἐπιδεξαμένης
ἀνελπίστως τεκεῖν αὐτὴν δύο μὲν θυγατέρας, υἱὸν
δὲ ἕνα τὸν ὀνομασθέντα Μιθριδάτην. ἐξ οὗ τοὺς
ὑποβολιμαίους ἀναδιδαξαμένην τἀνδρὶ τὸν μὲν
πρεσβύτερον μετὰ συμμέτρου χορηγιάς[2] εἰς Ῥώμην
ἀποσταλῆναι παρασκευάσαι, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον εἰς
τὴν Ἰωνίαν χάριν τοῦ μὴ διαμφισβητεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς
βασιλείας τῷ γνησίῳ. τοῦτον δὲ ἀνδρωθέντα καὶ
Ἀριαράθην φασὶ μετονομασθῆναι, παιδείας τε
Ἑλληνικῆς μετασχεῖν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπαινεῖ-
8 σθαι ἀρετήν. καὶ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ φιλοπάτορι ὄντι τῷ
υἱῷ ἔσπευδεν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τοῦ φιλοτέκνου σπου-
δήν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς προέβη τὰ τῆς πρὸς
ἀλλήλους εὐνοίας ὥστε ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἐξίστασθαι τῆς
ὅλης ἀρχῆς ἠγωνίζετο τῷ παιδί, ὁ δὲ ἀδύνατον
ἐδείκνυ δέξασθαι αὐτὸν παρὰ γονέων ἔτι ζώντων
τὴν τοιαύτην χάριτα. οὗτος τὸν πατέρα τοῦ πε-
πρωμένου καταλαβόντος διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν,

[1] So Stephanus: ὑποβάλλεσθαι.
[2] So Herwerden: χρείας.

[1] Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.), whom he supported at the

On his father's death, Ariarathes became sole ruler, 220 B.C.
and when he departed this life left the kingdom to his son Ariarathes (IV), who was then a mere infant. He in turn married a daughter of Antiochus (surnamed the Great),[1] Antiochis by name, an utterly unscrupulous woman. Failing to have children, she palmed off on her unwitting husband two supposititious sons, Ariarathes and Holophernes. After a certain time, however, she ceased to be barren and unexpectedly bore two daughters and a single son, named Mithridates. Thereupon, after revealing the truth to her husband, she arranged for the elder of the supposititious sons to be sent off to Rome[2] with a suitable stipend, and the younger to Ionia, in order to avoid any dispute with the legitimate son over the kingdom. He, they say, changed his name to Ariarathes[3] (V) after he grew to manhood, received a Greek education, and won commendation as well for other merits. Now because he was such a filial son, his father made a point of taking a parental interest in return, and their regard for one another reached such a point that the father was bent on retiring from the throne altogether in favour of his son, while the son declared that it was impossible for him to accept this kind of favour while his parents yet lived. But when the fatal day came for
his father, he inherited the kingdom, and by his 163 B.C.

battle of Magnesia. Ariarathes IV soon after, however, made a treaty of friendship with Rome.

[2] Livy, 42. 19, records his arrival in Rome in 172 B.C.

[3] Ariarathes V Eusebes Philopator (163–130 B.C.). He was the devoted pupil and friend of Carneades, head of the Academy, and was a patron of the Attic guild of Dionysiac artists: cp. W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 300-301, 370, and *IG*, 2^2. 3781 and 1330.

τήν τε ἄλλην ἀγωγὴν τοῦ βίου ἀξιολογωτάτην ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ προσανέχων, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀγνοουμένη πάλαι Καππαδοκία τότε τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις ἐμβιωτήριον[1] ὑπῆρχεν. ἀνενεώσατο δ' οὗτος καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς εἰς Κῦρον ἀναφορᾶς τῶν μέχρι τοῦδε τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλευσάντων ἐν τούτοις.

(Photius, *Bibl.* pp. 382-383 B.)

9 Καππαδόκων βασιλεῖς ἑπτά, χρόνους ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα διαρκέσαντες, κατὰ τούτους ἤρξαντο τοὺς χρόνους, ὡς Διόδωρος γράφει.

(Georgius Syncellus, p. 523 Dind.)

Chap. 19a: see below, after Chap. 22; Chap. 20: see above, after Chap. 18a.

21. Ὅτι ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ κληθεὶς Ἀριαράθης διαδεξάμενος τὴν πατρῴαν βασιλείαν, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν πατέρα μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθαψεν· ἔπειτα τῶν τε φίλων καὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων τὴν καθήκουσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησάμενος, μεγάλην εὔνοιαν[2] παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἀπηνέγκατο.

22. Ὅτι τὸν Μιθροβουζάνην ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν καταγαγόντος Ἀριαράθου,[3] Ἀρταξίας ὁ τῆς Ἀρμενίας βασιλεὺς[4] οὐκ ἀφιστάμενος τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πλεονεξίας πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Ἀριαράθην, παρακαλῶν συμφρονῆσαι, καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων ἑκάτερον τὸν παρ' ἑαυτῷ[5] διαχειρισάμενον διελέσθαι τὴν

[1] So Stephanus: ἐμβιώτερον.
[2] So Salmasius, Valesius: ἔννοιαν P.
[3] Ἀριαράθου(ς) added by Valesius.
[4] So Salmasius, Valesius: βασιλείας P.
[5] So Dindorf: ἑαυτοῦ P.

whole way of life, and especially by his devotion to philosophy, showed himself worthy of the highest praise; and thus it was that Cappadocia, so long unknown to the Greeks, offered at this time a place of sojourn to men of culture. This king also renewed with Rome the treaty of alliance and friendship.[1] So much, then, for the descent from Cyrus of the dynasty which to this point ruled over Cappadocia.

Seven kings of Cappadocia, whose dynasty lasted one hundred and sixty years, began at about this time, as Diodorus writes.[2]

21. Ariarathes, surnamed Philopator, on succeeding to his ancestral kingdom, first of all gave his father a magnificent burial. Then, when he had duly attended to the interests of his friends, of those in positions of authority, and of the other subordinate officials, he succeeded in winning great favour with the populace.[3]

22. After Ariarathes had restored Mithrobuzanes to his ancestral domain, Artaxias, the king of Armenia, abating not a whit his original rapacity sent envoys to Ariarathes, urging him to make common cause with him, and proposing that they should each put to death the young man who was at his court,

[1] Cp. Polybius, 31. 3.
[2] The last king of this line, Ariarathes VIII, died in 95 B.C. after a brief reign. This would carry the beginnings of the dynasty back to *c.* 255 B.C.
[3] Cp. Polybius, 31. 3 and 7, for Ariarathes' conduct on succeeding to the throne and for his filial piety.

Σωφηνήν.[1] ὁ δὲ Ἀριαράθης πολὺ κεχωρισμένος τῆς τοιαύτης ῥᾳδιουργίας τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς ἐπέπληξε, καὶ πρὸς Ἀρταξίαν ἔγραψε παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων. Ἀριαράθης μὲν οὖν ἀκολούθως, οὕτω γενηθείσης τῆς πράξεως, οὐ μετρίως ηὔξησε τὴν περὶ αὑτοῦ δόξαν· ὁ δὲ Μιθροβουζάνης διὰ τὴν θαυμαζομένην τοῦ καταγαγόντος αὐτὸν πίστιν καὶ καλοκἀγαθίαν ἐκράτησε τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 284-285.)

Chap. 23: see below, after Chap. 19a.

19a. Ὅτι ὁ τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς ἐπιστάτης Πτολεμαῖος ἔτι μὲν καὶ πρότερον καταφρονήσας τῶν Συριακῶν βασιλέων ἀποστάτης ἐγένετο, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐκείνων περισπασμοὺς ἀδεῶς τῆς χώρας ἐδυνάστευσε, μάλιστα πιστεύων ταῖς τῶν τόπων ὀχυρότησιν· καὶ οὐκ ἀρκούμενος τῇ πλεονεξίᾳ ταύτῃ, συναγαγὼν δύναμιν ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Μελιτηνὴν οὖσαν τῆς Καππαδοκίας καὶ τεταγμένην ὑπὸ Ἀριαράθην, καὶ τοὺς εὐθέτους προκατέλαβε τόπους. στρατεύσαντος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως Ἀριαράθου, ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπαρχίαν. (*Const. Exc.* 3, p. 200.)

Chap. 20: see above, after Chap. 18a.

23. Ὅτι ἧκον πρεσβευταὶ εἰς Ῥώμην παρά τε τοῦ νεωτέρου Πτολεμαίου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου. δοθέντος δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ λόγου, διακούσασα ἡ σύγκλητος τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐδογμάτισε τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Πτολεμαίου πρεσβευτὰς ἐν ἡμέραις πέντε ταῖς πάσαις ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀνελεῖν τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν νεώτερον Πτολεμαῖον

[1] So Valesius: σωφήν P.

and divide Sophenê[1] between them. Ariarathes, to whom such villainy was completely foreign, rebuked the envoys and wrote to Artaxias, urging him to abstain from such actions. When this result was achieved, Ariarathes in consequence enhanced his own reputation in no slight degree, while Mithrobuzanes, thanks to the admirable good faith and nobility of his sponsor, succeeded to the throne of his fathers.

19a. Ptolemaeus, the governor of Commagenê, 162 B.C. who even before had shown little respect for the Syrian kings, now asserted his independence, and because they were busy with their own affairs, established himself without interference in control of the country, being chiefly emboldened by its natural advantages for defence. Not satisfied with this gain, he raised an army and invaded Melitenê, which belonged to Cappadocia and was subject to Ariarathes, and he won an initial success by occupying the points of vantage. When Ariarathes, however, marched against him with a strong force, he withdrew into his own province.

23. Envoys arrived in Rome both from the younger 161 B.C. Ptolemy and from the elder. An audience before the senate having been granted them, the senate, after hearing both sides out, decreed that the envoys of the elder Ptolemy must leave Italy within not more than five days, that their alliance with him was at an end, and that legates should be sent to the

[1] A region east of the Euphrates, lying between Cappadocia and Armenia. Presumably the two claimants to the throne, Mithrobuzanes and another, had taken refuge, respectively, with Ariarathes and Artaxias. The exact date of the incident is uncertain. Cp. Polybius, 31. 16.

πέμψαι πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς ἐμφανιοῦντας αὐτῷ τὴν εὔνοιαν τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τὰ διασεσαφημένα τἀδελφῷ. (*Const. Exc.* 1, p. 403.)

24. Ὅτι νεανίσκων τινῶν πριαμένων ἐρώμενον μὲν ταλάντου, κεράμιον δὲ Ποντικοῦ ταρίχου τριακοσίων δραχμῶν Ἀττικῶν[1] Μάρκος Πόρκιος Κάτων, τῶν εὐδοκιμουμένων ἀνδρῶν, εἶπεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διότι μάλιστα δύνανται κατιδεῖν ἐκ τούτου τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ πολιτείας διαστροφήν, ὅταν πωλούμενοι πλεῖον εὑρίσκωσιν[2] οἱ μὲν ἐρώμενοι τῶν ἀγρῶν, τὰ δὲ κεράμια τοῦ ταρίχου τῶν ζευγηλατῶν.[3] (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 375.)

25. Ὅτι ὁ Αἰμίλιος ὁ Περσέα καταπολεμήσας τιμητὴς[4] ὢν καὶ σχεδὸν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς ἀρετῆς πρωτεύων τῶν πολιτῶν ἐτελεύτησεν. ὡς δὲ ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμη τῆς τελευτῆς διεδόθη καὶ συνήγγιζεν ὁ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς καιρός, τοιαύτην συνέβη γενέσθαι πάσης τῆς πόλεως συμπάθειαν ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐργαστηριακοὺς καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον συντρέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπερθέσθαι τοὺς χρηματισμούς. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν περιοικουσῶν τὴν Ῥώμην πόλεων ὅσαις ὁ χρόνος τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ἐδίδου ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν τῆς ἐκφορᾶς καιρόν, κατήντων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην σχεδόν τι πανδημεὶ[5] μετὰ προθυμίας, ἅμα θεασόμενοι καὶ τιμήσοντες[6] τὸν μετηλλαχότα. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 285.)

[1] So Mercati from faint traces in V; ἀναγκῶν Mai, ἀγανακτῶν Dindorf.
[2] πλεῖον εὑρίσκωσιν Dindorf (cp. Polybius, 31. 25. 5a): πλείονος εὑρίσκωνται V.
[3] So Dindorf (cp. Polybius, *l.c.*): ζευγήματων V.
[4] So Valesius: τιμητητον (*s. acc.*) P.

younger Ptolemy to inform him of the senate's goodwill and of their instructions to his brother.[1]

24. Because certain young men paid a talent for a male favourite and three hundred Attic drachmas for a jar of Pontic pickled fish, Marcus Porcius Cato, a man held in high esteem, declared before an assembly of the people that they could very readily discern herein the turn for the worse in men's conduct and in the state, when favourites were sold at a higher price than farm lands, and a jar of pickled fish than teamsters.[2]

25. Aemilius, the conqueror of Perseus, who held 160 B.C.
the office of censor and excelled his fellow citizens in nearly every virtuous capacity, at this time died. As the report of his death spread abroad and the time of his funeral drew near, the entire city was so moved by grief that not only did the labouring men and the rest of the common people assemble with alacrity, but even the magistrates and the senate laid aside the affairs of state. Equally, too, from all the towns round about Rome, wherever they were able to arrive in time, the inhabitants almost to a man came down to Rome, eager both to witness the spectacle and to pay honour to the deceased.

[1] Cp. Polybius, 31. 20.
[2] Cp. Polybius, 31. 25. 5 and 5a, and below, Book 37. 3. 6. The Diodorus passages are not cited for Cato in Malcovati's *Orat. Rom. Frag.* Since Polybius *apparently* records the remark in connection with his eulogy of Scipio, the present passage should, probably, be placed below, after chap. 26. 7. If not, it *may* belong to a speech in support of the sumptuary legislation of 161 B.C., the *Lex Fannia*.

[5] κατήντων . . . πανδημεὶ] So Dindorf: καὶ τῶν τὴν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τιμὴν σχεδὸν τιμὴν P.
[6] So Valesius: τιμήσαντες P.

2 Ὅτι περὶ Λευκίου Αἰμιλίου τοῦ Περσέα καταπολεμήσαντος τῆς ταφῆς διερχόμενος, καὶ λαμπρὰν αὐτὴν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γενέσθαι λέγων ἐπάγει· τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων οἱ ταῖς εὐγενείαις καὶ προγόνων δόξῃ διαφέροντες μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν εἰδωλοποιοῦνται κατά τε τὴν τοῦ χαρακτῆρος ὁμοιότητα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὅλην τοῦ σώματος περιγραφήν, μιμητὰς ἔχοντες ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ βίου παρατετηρηκότας τήν τε πορείαν καὶ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἰδιότητας τῆς ἐμφάσεως. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τῶν προγόνων ἕκαστος προηγεῖται τοιαύτην ἔχων διασκευὴν καὶ κόσμον ὥστε τοὺς θεωμένους διὰ τῆς ἐκ τούτων ἐμφάσεως γινώσκειν ἐφ' ὅσον ἕκαστοι τιμῆς προήχθησαν καὶ μετέσχον τῶν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καλῶν.

(Photius, *Bibl.* p. 383 B.)

26. Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Αἰμίλιος οἷος ἐν τῷ ζῆν ὑπάρχειν τὴν ψυχὴν[1] ἐδοξάζετο, τοιοῦτον ἀπέλιπε τὸν βίον μεταλλάττων. πλεῖστον μὲν γὰρ[2] τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας χρυσὸν κομίσας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, μεγίστων δὲ θησαυρῶν τῶν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος, πλείστης δὲ περὶ τὰ προειρημένα τετευχὼς ἐξουσίας, τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχετο τοῦ σφετερίσασθαί τι τῶν χρημάτων ὥστε μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς δοθέντας εἰς υἱοθεσίαν διαδεξαμένους τὴν κληρονομίαν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐπίπλων μὴ δύνασθαι διαλῦσαι τῇ γυναικὶ τὴν φερνήν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἐγγείων κτημάτων ἔνια

[1] So Herwerden: τύχην P.
[2] πλεῖστον μὲν γὰρ Büttner-Wobst: πλείστων γὰρ μ' P, πλεῖστον γὰρ Valesius.

Diodorus, in his account of the funeral of Lucius Aemilius, the conqueror of Perseus, states that it was conducted with the utmost splendour, and adds the following passage: "Those Romans who by reason of noble birth and the fame of their ancestors are pre-eminent are, when they die, portrayed in figures that are not only lifelike as to features but show their whole bodily appearance. For they employ actors [1] who through a man's whole life have carefully observed his carriage and the several peculiarities of his appearance. In like fashion each of the dead man's ancestors takes his place in the funeral procession, with such robes and insignia as enable the spectators to distinguish from the portrayal how far each had advanced in the *cursus honorum* and had had a part in the dignities of the state."

26. This same Aemilius [2] in departing this life left behind him a reputation for character equal to that which he had enjoyed while living. For though he had brought to Rome, from Spain, more gold than any of his contemporaries, had had in his possession the fabulous treasures of Macedonia, and had had unlimited powers in the said cases, he so completely abstained from appropriating any of this money that after his death his sons, whom he had given in adoption, on receiving their inheritance were unable to pay off from the whole of his personal property the dowry of his widow, except by selling some of the

[1] Or possibly "artists," but Zadoks and Jitta, *Ancestral Portraiture in Rome* (Amsterdam, 1932), 25, interpret the passage as referring to impersonations of the deceased, not statues or wax effigies. See also Polybius, 6. 53.
[2] This and the following fragment are modelled closely on the more detailed excursus on Aemilius and Scipio in Polybius, 31. 22-30.

2 προσαπέδοντο. διὸ καὶ πολλοῖς ἔδοξεν ὑπερβεβηκέναι κατὰ τὴν ἀφιλαργυρίαν τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος θαυμασθέντας Ἀριστείδην τε καὶ Ἐπαμινώνδαν. ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ διδομένων χρημάτων ἐπὶ τῷ λυσιτελεῖ τῶν διδόντων ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς δωρεᾶς, τοῦτον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα λαβεῖν ὁπόσα βούλοιτο μηδενὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιθυμῆσαι. εἰ δὲ ἄπιστόν τισι φαίνεται τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐκεῖνο δεῖ[1] λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι οὐ χρὴ τὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀφιλαργυρίαν ἐκ τῆς νῦν Ῥωμαίων πλεονεξίας τεκμαίρεσθαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου μεγίστην ὁρμὴν τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος ἐσχηκέναι δοκεῖ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμίαν.

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶ ἀνδρὸς νῦν[2] ἐμνήσθην ἀγαθοῦ, βούλομαι βραχέα διελθεῖν περὶ τῆς Σκιπίωνος διαγωγῆς τοῦ Νομαντίαν ὕστερον κατασκάψαντος, ὅπως μὴ παράδοξός τισιν ἡ προκοπὴ τούτου δόξῃ γεγονέναι κατὰ τοὺς ὕστερον χρόνους, ἀγνοουμένης τῆς κατὰ τὴν νεότητα περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων σπουδῆς.

4 Πόπλιος τοίνυν Σκιπίων Αἰμιλίου μὲν τοῦ Περσέα θριαμβεύσαντος ἦν κατὰ φύσιν υἱός, καθάπερ ἤδη προείρηται, δοθεὶς δὲ εἰς υἱοθεσίαν Σκιπίωνι τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ Καρχηδονίους καταπολεμήσαντος ἔσχε κατὰ θέσιν πάππον Σκιπίωνα τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν προσαγορευθέντα, μέγιστον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων. ἀπὸ δὲ τοιαύτης[3] ῥίζης γεγονὼς καὶ τηλικοῦτο βάρος οἰκίας καὶ

[1] δεῖ added by Herwerden (cp. Polybius, 31. 22. 8).
[2] νῦν transposed here by Valesius from a position before πλείονος, above.
[3] So Büttner-Wobst: τῆς P, ταύτης τῆς Valesius.

real property as well. Hence it seemed to many that in freedom from avarice he had outdone even those who were the marvel of Greece in this respect, Aristeides and Epaminondas. For they had refused gifts whenever the offer was made in the interest of the donors, but he, with full power to take as much as he wanted, had coveted nothing. Now if this statement seems incredible to some, they should take into account the fact[1] that we cannot properly judge the freedom of the ancients from avarice by the dishonest greed of present-day Romans. For in our lifetime this people has, it appears, acquired a strong tendency to want more and more.

Having just now called a good man to mind, I wish to speak briefly of the training of the Scipio[2] who later destroyed Numantia, so that his success in after years may not appear incredible to some through ignorance of his youthful concern with the most noble pursuits.

Publius Scipio was by blood, as has already been stated, the son of the Aemilius who triumphed over Perseus, but having been given in adoption to Scipio, the son of the conqueror of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, he had as his adoptive grandfather Scipio, surnamed Africanus, the greatest Roman down to his own day. Sprung from such stock, and succeeding to a family and clan of such importance, he showed

[1] This observation, not in Polybius, was added by Diodorus and refers to his own day.
[2] P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus (185/4–129 B.C.). Numantia was destroyed in 133 B.C.

γένους διαδεδεγμένος ἄξιος ἐφάνη τῆς τῶν προ-
5 γόνων δόξης. ἐκ παίδων γὰρ Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας
ἐπὶ πολὺ μεταλαβών, καὶ γεγονὼς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν
ἐνιαυτὸν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν, ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν πρὸς
τοὺς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ λόγους, λαβὼν ἐπιστάτην Πολύ-
βιον τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην τὸν τὰς ἱστορίας συντεταγ-
μένον. τούτῳ δὲ συμβιώσας καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς
ζηλωτὴς γενόμενος οὐχ οἷον τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων πάντων πολὺ προέσχε[1]
σωφροσύνῃ καὶ καλοκἀγαθίᾳ καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ
6 καθόλου πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς γένεσι. καίτοι γ'
ἐν ἀρχαῖς, πρὸ τοῦ φιλοσοφίας ἅψασθαι, διάληψιν
ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὡς νωθρὸς ὢν τὴν ψυχὴν
καὶ τοῦ βάρους τῆς οἰκίας οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως διάδοχος
καὶ προστάτης. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῆς ἡλικίας οἰκείως
πρῶτον ἤρξατο περιποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ[2]
δόξαν. πολλὴ γάρ τις ὁρμὴ πρὸς τὰς ἀνέδην ἡδονὰς
καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀκολασίας τοῖς τότε νέοις
7 ἐνεπεπτώκει. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἐρωμένους, οἱ δὲ εἰς
ἑταίρας, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἀκροάματα παντοδαπὰ καὶ πότους
καὶ καθόλου τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις πολυτέλειαν ἐξεκέ-
χυντο. ἐν γὰρ τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ χρόνον
πλείονα διατρίψαντες ταχέως ἐζήλωσαν τῶν Ἑλλή-
νων τὴν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος εὐχέρειαν, ἄλλως τε
καὶ χρημάτων εὐπορηκότες καὶ χορηγὸν ἀξιόχρεων
τὸν πλοῦτον ἔχοντες ταῖς πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς δαπάναις.

27. Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν
ἀγωγὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ πάσαις ταῖς τῆς φύσεως ἐπι-
θυμίαις ὥσπερ τισὶ θηρίοις ἀντιταξάμενος, ἐν οὐδ'
ὅλοις πέντε ἔτεσι περιεποιήσατο πάνδημον καὶ

[1] So Valesius: προσέσχε P.
[2] So Salmasius, Valesius: σωφροσύνην P.

himself worthy of the fame of his ancestors. For having had from childhood up extensive training in Greek studies, he now, on attaining the age of eighteen in this year,[1] devoted himself to philosophy, taking as his tutor Polybius of Megalopolis, the author of the *Histories*. Living in constant association with him, and proving a zealous adept of every virtue, he far outstripped not only his peers in age but all his elders as well in temperance, in nobility of character, in magnanimity, and generally in all good qualities. Yet earlier, before applying himself to philosophy, he was generally regarded as a sluggard and no adequate successor to and representative of the dignity of his house. Nevertheless, he began, as befitted his years, by winning first a name for temperance. Now the fashion of the time tended strongly to unbridled pleasures and excessive licentiousness among the younger men. Some had abandoned themselves to catamites, others to courtesans, others to all sorts of musical entertainments and banquetings, and, in general, to the extravagance that these things entail. For having spent considerable time in Greece during the war with Perseus, they soon affected the easygoing Greek attitude to such matters, the more so as they had acquired ample funds, so that their wealth made adequate provision for the costs of indulgence.

27. Scipio, however, embarking upon a contrary course of conduct, and taking arms against all his natural appetites, as if they were wild beasts, in less than five years achieved a reputation, universally

[1] Diodorus has misunderstood Polybius (31. 24. 1), who was here referring to an earlier occasion, not to the year of Aemilius' death (the starting-point of the excursus).

συγχωρουμένην τὴν ἐπ' εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ δόξαν.[1] ταύτης δ' αὐτῷ συμφώνως μαρτυρουμένης καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι μεγάλης ἐπισημασίας τυγχανούσης, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ[2] καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐλευθεριότητι διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἄλλων.
2 πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἀρετῆς εἶχε μὲν καὶ τὸ ἦθος τοῦ κατὰ φυσὶν πατρὸς Αἰμιλίου πρὸς μίμησιν κάλλιστον ἀρχέτυπον, καὶ καθόλου τὴν μετ' ἐκείνου συμβίωσιν πεποιημένος προεῖχεν ἤδη τι τῶν προὔργου καὶ προὐτετύπωτο.[3] οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ αὐτῷ συνήργησε καὶ ταὐτόματον, παρασχόμενον ἀφορμὰς τοῦ ταχὺ περιβόητον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν[4] ἀφιλαργυρίαν.[5]

3 Αἰμιλία γὰρ ἡ τοῦ μεγάλου μὲν γυνὴ Σκιπίωνος,[6] ἀδελφὴ δὲ[7] τοῦ Περσέα καταπολεμήσαντος Αἰμιλίου μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον ἀπολιποῦσα μεγάλην οὐσίαν, ἧς οὗτος ὑπῆρξε κληρονόμος. ἐν τούτοις οὖν πρώτην ἔδωκε πεῖραν τῆς ἰδίας προαιρέσεως ἐκ περιστάσεως τοιαύτης. ἡ γὰρ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Παπειρία πολὺ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῆς ἐτύγχανε κεχωρισμένη μὲν ἀπὸ τἀνδρός· κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ διάγουσα τὴν τοῦ βίου χορηγίαν ἐλλιπεστέραν εἶχε
4 τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν εὐγενείας. ἡ δὲ[8] τοῦ κατὰ θέσιν πατρὸς μήτηρ τὴν κληρονομίαν ἀπολιποῦσα χωρὶς τῆς ἄλλης εὐπορίας μεγάλην ἐσχήκει περικοπὴν[9] κόσμου περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ θεραπαινίδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἂν συνηκμακυῖα τῷ τε βίῳ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ τοῦ μεγάλου Σκιπίωνος. ταύτην ἅπασαν τὴν κατα-

[1] τὴν . . . δόξαν] So Dindorf (cp. Polybius. 31. 25. 8): τὴν ἐπ' εὐταξίᾳ σωφροσύνην P.

acknowledged, for discipline and temperance. Even as this reputation was being accorded him by common consent, and was exciting favourable attention in all quarters, he set out to distinguish himself by his magnanimity and his liberal conduct of financial affairs. For the attainment of this virtue he had in the character of his real father, Aemilius, an excellent model to follow, and, in general, his close association with his father had given him certain advantages and left its mark on him. Chance also co-operated to no small extent, providing opportunities for his generosity about money to become quickly well known.

Aemilia, for example, the wife of the great Scipio and sister of Aemilius, the conqueror of Perseus, died leaving a large estate, which he stood to inherit. Here he gave the first indication of his purpose, under the following circumstances. Long before the death of his father, his mother, Papiria, had been separated from her husband, but in her separate establishment her means were inadequate to her high station in life. The mother of Scipio's adoptive father, however, the woman who left him the inheritance, had possessed, apart even from the rest of her fortune, a great array of personal adornments, attendants and the like, as befitted one who had shared in the prestige of the great Scipio's life and fortunes. All these

[2] τὸ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ Wesseling (cp. Polybius, 31. 25. 9): τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν P.
[3] So Schaefer: προὔπετοιποῦτο P.
[4] τὴν added by Reiske.
[5] So Salmasius, Valesius : φιλαργυρίαν P.
[6] Αἰμιλία . . . Σκιπίωνος] So Dindorf; Αἰμιλία γάρ τοι μεγάλου Σκιπίωνος P.
[7] ἀδελφὴ δὲ Reiske; ἀδελφιδη (*s. acc.*) P.
[8] δὲ added by Valesius.
[9] So Valesius: προκοπὴν P.

σκευήν, πολλῶν οὖσαν ταλάντων, φέρων ἐδωρήσατο τῇ μητρί. ἧς[1] κατὰ τὰς ἐπισήμους ἐξόδους χρωμένης τῇ δοθείσῃ χορηγίᾳ καὶ λαμπρότητι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν, εἶτα ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καθ' ὅλην τὴν πόλιν περιβόητος ἦν ἡ χρηστότης καὶ μεγαλοψυχία τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ τὸ σύνολον πρὸς τὴν
5 τεκοῦσαν ὁσιότης. τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν κρίνοιτ' ἂν καλὸν καὶ θαυμαστόν, μάλιστα δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις παρ' οἷς οὐδεὶς οὐδενὶ δίδωσι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων εὐχερῶς ἑκὼν οὐδέν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς Σκιπίωνος τοῦ μεγάλου θυγατράσι προσοφειλομένων εἰς τὴν φερνὴν πολλῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντων εἰθισμένων ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσι κατὰ μέρος ἀποδιδόναι τὰς φερνάς, οὗτος εὐθέως ἁπάσας ἀπέλυσεν. ἑξῆς δὲ μεταλλάξαντος Αἰμιλίου τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν πατρὸς καὶ τούτῳ τε καὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ τοῖς δοθεῖσιν εἰς υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολιπόντος τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐποίησεν ὁ Σκιπίων καλόν τι καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον.
6 ὁρῶν γὰρ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ κατεδεέστερον ὄντα τοῖς χρήμασι, ἐπεχορήγησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἰδίαν μερίδα τῆς κληρονομίας, οὔσης ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα τῆς τιμήσεως, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐποίησεν ἴσην ἑαυτῷ[2] πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν γενέσθαι τὴν ὅλην ὕπαρξιν. ἀποδοχῆς δὲ τυγχάνων καὶ φήμης ἀγαθῆς παρὰ πᾶσι θαυμασιώτερόν τι διεπράξατο. τοῦ γὰρ ἀδελφοῦ Φαβίου μονομαχίας βουλομένου ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί, μὴ δυναμένου δὲ ὑποδέξασθαι τὴν δαπάνην διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλισκομένων εἰς ταῦτα χρημάτων, τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἔδωκεν
7 ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας. ἀποθανούσης δὲ τῆς μητρός,

[1] So Valesius: ἣ P.
[2] τὴν after ἑαυτῷ deleted by Reiske.

trappings, worth many talents, he now took and gave to his own mother. And since she employed this donated pomp and splendour in making conspicuous public appearances, the goodness and generosity of the young man and, in general, his filial piety towards his mother won the acclaim of the whole city, first among the women and then among the men. This would be regarded as a shining example and as a thing to marvel at in any city, but especially so at Rome, where no one readily and of his own free will parts with anything he has. Later, when a large sum of money to complete their dowries remained to be paid to the daughters of the great Scipio, although it is the practice of the Romans to pay off a dowry piecemeal within three years, he paid the money to them all in full and at once. Next, when Aemilius, his real father, died and left his property to him and to Fabius,[1] the sons he had given in adoption, Scipio performed a noble act, which deserves to be put on record. Seeing that his brother was less prosperous than himself he gave him as a supplement his own share of the inheritance, to the value of more than sixty talents, and thus equalized his entire holdings with those of his brother. This being greeted with approval and favourable comment on all sides, he did a thing even more remarkable. For when his brother Fabius, wishing to stage a gladiatorial show [2] in honour of their father, was unable to assume the expense because of the great outlays involved, he gave him from his own pocket a half of the total cost. On the death of his mother, so far from

[1] Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus.
[2] These *ludi funebres* included also performances of the *Hecyra* and *Adelphoe* of Terence.

τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχετο τοῦ κομίσασθαί τι τῶν πρότερον δωρηθέντων ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην οὐσίαν συνεχώρησεν ἔχειν ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, οὐ προσηκούσης αὐταῖς κατὰ νόμον τῆς κληρονομίας. ἀεὶ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον περίβλεπτος ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀναντίρρητον ἀπολαμβάνων ἔπαινον χρηστότητος καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας, οὐχ οὕτως τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων τὸ προκείμενον κατεργασάμενος ὡς τῷ καιρῷ τῆς δωρεᾶς καὶ τῷ χειρισμῷ[1] τῆς προθέσεως. τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην περιεποιήσατο δαπανήσας μὲν οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀποσχόμενος προσωφελήθη τήν τε σωματικὴν ὑγίειαν καὶ τὴν εὐεξίαν, ἥτις αὐτῷ πάντα τὸν βίον συμπαραμείνασα καλὰς
8 ἀμοιβὰς καὶ χάριτας ἀπέδωκε. τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν μέρους λοιποῦ ὄντος,[2] ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀναγκαιότατον παρὰ πᾶσι μέν, μάλιστα δὲ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐξεπόνησε καὶ τοῦτο περιττῶς, ἀφορμὴν δούσης αὐτῷ μεγάλην τῆς τύχης. τῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν βασιλέων πλείστην πεποιημένων[3] σπουδὴν περὶ τὰς κυνηγεσίας πάντας ὑπερέβαλε.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 285-289.)

27a. Ὅτι γνωσθείσης τῆς πρὸς Δημήτριον ἀλλοτριότητος τῶν Ῥωμαίων, συνέβη μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς καταφρονῆσαι τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ καί τινας τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένων σατραπῶν, ὧν ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος Τίμαρχος. ἦν δὲ οὗτος τὸ μὲν γένος Μιλήσιος, Ἀντιόχου δὲ τοῦ προβεβασιλευκότος φίλος· ὃς πολλάκις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην

[1] So Salmasius, Valesius : χορεισμῶι P.

taking for himself anything he had given her, he allowed his sisters to have not only that but the rest of her estate, although they had no legal claim to the inheritance. Increasingly he gained the admiration of the whole city, receiving uncontested praise for his goodness and magnanimity ; yet it was not so much the amounts involved that brought this about as the timeliness of his gifts and the tact with which he carried out his proposals. The acquisition of temperance, on the other hand, required no outlay of money ; indeed, abstinence from indulgence conferred the boon of bodily health and vigour, which, as it lasted all his life, brought him ample compensation and requital. One virtue remains, courage, which indeed is regarded as essential by all men and in particular by the Romans : this too he pursued with unusual vigour and made perfect, chance having provided him a great opportunity. For the Macedonian kings had always been especially devoted to the chase, and Scipio outdid everyone.[1]

27a. When it became known that the Romans were c. 161 B.C.
ill disposed towards Demetrius, not only the other kings but even some of the satraps subject to him regarded his kingship with scant respect. Of these satraps the most outstanding was a certain Timarchus. A Milesian by birth, and a friend of the previous king, Antiochus,[2] he had, in the course of a series of

[1] The excerptor has so abbreviated the conclusion that the mention of hunting can be understood only by reference to Polybius, 31. 29.

[2] Antiochus IV Epiphanes, not the ill-starred Antiochus V Eupator (163–162 B.C.).

[2] λοιποῦ ὄντος added by Reiske (cp. Polybius, 31. 29).

[3] So Salmasius, Valesius : πεποιημένην P.

ἐξαπεσταλμένος πρεσβευτὴς πολλὰ κακὰ διειργάσατο τὴν σύγκλητον. χρημάτων γὰρ πλῆθος κομίζων ἐδωροδόκει τοὺς συγκλητικούς, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς τοῖς βίοις ἀσθενεῖς ὑπερβαλλόμενος ταῖς δόσεσιν ἐδελέαζεν. διὰ δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου πολλοὺς ἐξιδιαζόμενος καὶ διδοὺς ὑποθέσεις ἀλλοτρίας τῆς Ῥωμαίων αἱρέσεως ἐλυμήνατο τὸ συνέδριον, συμπράττοντος Ἡρακλείδου τἀδελφοῦ, πάντων ὄντος εὐφυεστάτου πρὸς ταύτην τὴν χρείαν. τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καιρὸν σατράπης ὢν[1] Μηδίας κατήντησεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου κατηγορήσας ἔπεισε τὴν σύγκλητον δόγμα περὶ αὐτοῦ θέσθαι τοιοῦτον· Τιμάρχῳ ἕνεκεν . . . αὐτῶν[2] βασιλέα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ δόγματι συνεστήσατο κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν στρατόπεδον ἀξιόλογον· ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ συμμαχίαν κατὰ Δημητρίου πρὸς Ἀρταξίαν τὸν βασιλέα Ἀρμενίας· ἔτι[3] δὲ τὰ πρόσχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν καταπληξάμενος διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπηκόους ποιήσας ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ζεῦγμα, καὶ τέλος τῆς βασιλείας ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο.

(*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 200-201.)

28. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἑκατοστὴν πεντηκοστὴν πέμπτην ὀλυμπιάδα πρέσβεις παρεγένοντο παρὰ Ἀριαράθου στέφανον κομίζοντες ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυρίων καὶ διασαφοῦντες τὴν εὔνοιαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἣν ἔχει

[1] ὢν added by Herwerden.
[2] Τίμαρχον ἕνεκεν αὐτῶν Bevan.
[3] So Feder, Müller: ἔστι S.

---

[1] Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 2. 194, translates the decree: "As far as Rome was concerned Timarchus was King" (see critical note).—Appian, *Syr.* 45, says that

missions to Rome, worked serious detriment to the senate. Providing himself with large sums of money, he offered the senators bribes, seeking especially to overwhelm and lure with his gifts any senators who were in a weak financial position. By gaining in this way a large number of adherents and supplying them with proposals contrary to the public policy of Rome, he debauched the senate; in this he was seconded by Heracleides, his brother, a man supremely endowed by nature for such service. Following the same tactics he repaired to Rome on the present occasion, being now satrap of Media, and by launching many accusations against Demetrius persuaded the senate to enact the following decree concerning him: "To Timarchus, because of . . . to be their king."[1] Emboldened by this decree he raised an army of considerable size in Media; he also entered into an alliance against Demetrius with Artaxias, the king of Armenia. Having, moreover, intimidated the neighbouring peoples by an impressive display of force, and brought many of them under his sway, he marched against Zeugma, and eventually gained control of the kingdom.[2]

28. In the one hundred and fifty-fifth Olympiad envoys arrived from Ariarathes, bringing with them a "crown" of ten thousand gold pieces, to inform the senate of the king's friendly attitude towards the 160 B.C.

Antiochus had appointed Timarchus satrap of Babylon, and Heracleides treasurer. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in d. hellenist. Zeit*, 2. 87, follows Bevan in considering Timarchus not only satrap of Media but general commander of the eastern provinces.

[2] This is hardly true. Rome gave him recognition but no support, and he was soon defeated by Demetrius and put to death.

πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, ἔτι δὲ τὴν δι' ἐκείνους γενομένην ἀπόρρησιν τοῦ γάμου καὶ φιλίας πρὸς Δημήτριον. συνεπιμαρτυρούντων δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Γράκχον πρεσβευτῶν, ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπαινέσασα τὸν Ἀριαράθη τόν τε στέφανον ἐδέξατο καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς νομιζομένων δώρων ἀπέστειλεν.

29. Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον συνεισήχθησαν καὶ οἱ παρὰ Δημητρίου πρέσβεις οἱ τὸν στέφανον κομίζοντες ἀπὸ μυρίων χρυσῶν καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ὀκτάουιον φόνου δεσμίους ἀγαγόντες.[1] ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐπὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον διηπόρησε πῶς χρηστέον ἦν[2] τοῖς πράγμασιν. καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος τὸν μὲν στέφανον προσεδέξατο, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ στεφάνου παραδιδομένους Ἰσοκράτη καὶ Λεπτίνην οὐκ ἐβουλήθη παραλαβεῖν.

(*Const. Exc.* 1, p. 403.)

30. Ὅτι τοῦ Δημητρίου πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντος εἰς Ῥωμαίους, ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ σκολιὰν καὶ δυσεύρετον, ὅτι τεύξεται τῶν φιλανθρώπων Δημήτριος, ἐὰν τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῇ τῇ συγκλήτῳ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξουσίαν. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 375.)

31. Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καταπολεμήσαντες Περσέα τῶν μετασχόντων τοῦ πολέμου τοῖς Μακεδόσι τοὺς μὲν ἐκόλασαν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἤπειρον λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν Χάροψ

[1] ἄγοντες Dindorf.
[2] εἴη Dindorf, noting also a lacuna after πράγμασι.

[1] A commission, headed by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, had been sent to the East in 162 B.C., after the escape of Demetrius to Syria.

Roman people, as well as of his renunciation, on their account, of an alliance of marriage and friendship with Demetrius. Since this was confirmed by the testimony of Gracchus and his fellow commissioners,[1] the senate, expressing their approval of Ariarathes, accepted the crown and sent him the highest gifts that it was their custom to bestow.[2]

29. At about the same time the envoys of Demetrius were also introduced. They too brought a "crown" of ten thousand gold pieces and had with them, in chains, the men responsible for the murder of Octavius.[3] The senators were for a long time uncertain how to handle the situation. Finally, they accepted the crown but declined to accept custody of the men, Isocrates and Leptines, whose surrender was offered them together with the crown.

30. When Demetrius sent an embassy to Rome the senate gave him a devious and enigmatic reply, that he would receive kind treatment at their hands if in the exercise of his authority he gave satisfaction to the senate.[4]

31. After vanquishing Perseus the Romans curbed some of those who had taken part in the war on the Macedonian side, and removed others to Rome. In Epirus Charops,[5] who had gained control of the state

[2] The sceptre and the ivory *sella curulis*: cp. Polybius, 32. 1.
[3] Cn. Octavius, one of the *legati* sent to Syria in 163 B.C. The murderer was Leptines, Isocrates being merely a "soap-box" orator who publicly condoned the deed. For the reception of the embassy in Rome see Polybius, 32. 2-3.
[4] From Polybius, 32. 3. 13.
[5] For Charops see Book 30. 5. The present passage is based on Polybius, 32. 5-6, which includes an account of his visit to Rome and mention of his death (*c.* 160/59 B.C.). The mother's name is there given as Philotis.

διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι φιλορώμαιος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγα καὶ πεφεισμένως εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐξημάρτανεν· αἰεὶ δὲ προβαίνων τῇ παρανομίᾳ εἰς τέλος ἐλυμήνατο τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἤπειρον. οὐ γὰρ διέλειπεν αἰτίας ψευδεῖς ἐπιφέρων τοῖς εὐπορωτάτοις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φονεύων, τοὺς δὲ φυγαδεύων καὶ τὰς οὐσίας δημεύων οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἄνδρας ἠργυρολόγησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας διὰ τῆς μητρὸς Φιλώτας (πάνυ γὰρ εὐφυὲς ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς ὠμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν πλείονα ἢ κατὰ γυναῖκα), καὶ πολλοὺς εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, καταιτιασάμενος φρονεῖν ἀλλότρια Ῥωμαίων. καὶ πάντων κατέγνωσαν θάνατον.

32. Ὅτι Ὀροφέρνης τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀριαράθην ἐκβαλὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ μὲν νουνεχῶς ἕκαστα διοικεῖν καὶ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις καὶ φιλανθρωπίαις ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὰ πλήθη πρὸς εὔνοιαν πλεῖστον ὅσον ἀπέσχεν. ἀργυρολογῶν δὲ καὶ[1] πολλοὺς ἐπαναιρούμενος πεντήκοντα μὲν ταλάντοις ἐστεφάνωσε Τιμόθεον, ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ ταλάντοις Δημήτριον τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἑξακόσια τάλαντα . . . προσεπαγγειλάμενος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τετρακόσια δώσειν ἐν ἑτέρῳ καιρῷ. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς Καππάδοκας ἀλλοτρίως διακειμένους ἐνήρξατο πάντας ἀργυρολογεῖν καὶ τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀναλαμβάνειν. ἀθροίσας δὲ χρημάτων πλῆθος τετρακόσια τάλαντα παρέθετο Πριηνεῦσι

[1] *καὶ* added by Valesius.

[1] Ariarathes arrived in Rome, seeking help, in the summer of 158 B.C. (Polybius, 32. 10), but may have gone into exile

on the strength of his reputation as a friend of the Romans, at the outset was guilty of but few crimes against his people and showed some caution; but proceeding further and further in lawless behaviour, he wrought havoc in Epirus. He incessantly brought false charges against the wealthy, and by murdering some, and driving others into exile and confiscating their property, he exacted money not only from the men but also, through his mother Philota (for she was a person with a gift for cruelty and lawlessness that belied her sex), from the women as well; and he haled many before the popular assembly on charges of disaffection to Rome. And the sentence in all cases was death.

32. Orophernes, having driven his brother Ariarathes from the throne,[1] made no effort—far from it—to manage his affairs sensibly, and to elicit popular support by helping and serving his people. Indeed, at the very time when he was raising money by forced contributions and was putting numbers of people to death, he presented Timotheüs with a gift of fifty talents, and King Demetrius with a gift of seventy, quite apart from the payment to Demetrius of six hundred talents with a promise to pay the remaining four hundred at another time. And seeing that the Cappadocians were disaffected, he began to exact contributions on all sides and to confiscate for the privy purse the property of men of the highest distinction. When he had amassed a great sum, he deposited four hundred talents with the city of (c. 158 B.C.)

sooner. The thousand talents mentioned below were promised by Orophernes to Demetrius for his support. See Polybius, 33. 6, on the dissension caused later by the 400 talents deposited at Priênê. For Timotheüs see Polybius, 32. 10. 4.

πρὸς τὰ τῆς τύχης παράλογα· ἅπερ ὕστερον ἀπέδωκαν. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 289.)

32a. Ὅτι Εὐμένης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν Ἀριαράθην ἐκπτώσει βαρυνόμενος, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀφορμῆς σπεύδων ἀμύνασθαι τὸν Δημήτριον, μετεπέμψατο μειρακίσκον τινὰ τὴν ὡραιότητα[1] τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁμοίαν ἔχοντα καθ' ὑπερβολὴν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ πρότερον βεβασιλευκότι τῆς Συρίας. διέτριβε δ' οὗτος ἐν Σμύρνῃ διαβεβαιούμενος ἑαυτὸν Ἀντιόχου τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸν εἶναι, καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς πιστευόμενος διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα. ὡς δὲ παρεγένετο εἰς Πέργαμον, ἐκόσμησεν αὐτὸν διαδήματι καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ προσηκούσῃ βασιλέως περικοπῇ, καὶ πρός τινα τῶν Κιλίκων ἔπεμψεν ὄνομα Ζηνοφάνην.[2] οὗτος[3] δὲ ἔκ τινος αἰτίας προσκόψας μὲν τῷ Δημητρίῳ, συνεπιληφθεὶς[4] δὲ ἔν τισι στενοχωρουμένοις καιροῖς ὑπ' Εὐμένους τοῦ τότε βασιλέως, κατὰ λόγον πρὸς ὃν μὲν ἀλλοτρίως διέκειτο, πρὸς ὃν δὲ φιλανθρώπως. εἰς δὲ χωρίον τῆς Κιλικίας δεξάμενος τὸν μειρακίσκον διεδίδου λόγους εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ὡς μέλλοντος ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν κατιέναι τοῦ μειρακίσκου σὺν ἰδίῳ καιρῷ. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ὄχλοι ἐπὶ ταῖς[5] τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων φιλανθρώποις ἐντεύξεσι βαρέως ἔφερον τοῦ Δημητρίου τὴν αὐστηρίαν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπιβολῶν δραστικόν. διόπερ οἰκεῖοι τῆς μεταβολῆς ὄντες μετέωροι ταῖς προσδοκωμέναις ἐλπίσιν ἦσαν, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα μεταπεσουμένης τῆς ἐξουσίας εἰς ἕτερον ἐπιεικέστερον βασιλέα.

[1] So Dindorf: ὁμοιότητα S.
[2] So Feder: ὀνομάζειν ὀφάνην S.
[3] So Feder, Müller: αὐτὸς S.
[4] So Müller: συναπολειφθεὶς S.

Prienê as a hedge against the surprises of fortune, which amount the citizens of Prienê later repaid.

32a. King Eumenes,[1] grieved at the expulsion of Ariarathes and being eager for reasons of his own to check Demetrius, sent for a certain youth who in beauty of countenance and in age was exceedingly like Antiochus[2] the late king of Syria. This man resided in Smyrna and stoutly affirmed that he was a son of King Antiochus[3]; and because of the resemblance he found many to believe him. On his arrival at Pergamum the king tricked him out with a diadem and the other insignia proper to a king, then sent him to a certain Cilician named Zenophanes. This man, who had quarrelled for some reason with Demetrius, and had been assisted in certain difficult situations by Eumenes, who was then king, was accordingly at odds with the one, and kindly disposed to the other. He received the youth in a town of Cilicia, and spread the word abroad in Syria that the youth would reclaim his father's kingdom in his own good time.[4] Now after the generous behaviour of their former kings the common peoples of Syria were ill pleased with the austerity of Demetrius and his drastic demands. Being therefore ready for a change, they were buoyed up with hopeful expectations that the government would shortly fall into the hands of another and more considerate monarch.

[1] Probably the excerptor's error for Attalus, as Eumenes died in 160 or 159 B.C., and the reference to him later in the passage suggests that he was already dead.
[2] Antiochus V Eupator.
[3] Antiochus IV Epiphanes.
[4] He did in fact succeed Demetrius on the throne in 150 B.C., as Alexander Balas.

[5] ἐπὶ ταῖς Dindorf: ταῖς ἐπὶ S.

32b. Ὅτι οἱ Ὀροφέρνου πρεσβευταὶ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀνερχόμενοι καὶ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἐπιβουλεύσαντες Ἀριαράθῃ[1] περὶ Κόρκυραν αὐτοὶ προανῃρέθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀριαράθου. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ Κόρινθον ἐπιβουλὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ συστησαμένων τῶν τοῦ Ὀροφέρνου, καὶ ταύτην παραδόξως διεκφυγὼν διεσώθη πρὸς τὸν Ἄτταλον εἰς τὸ Πέργαμον.

(*Const. Exc.* 3, p. 201.)

33. Ὅτι ὁ πρεσβύτερος Πτολεμαῖος ταχὺ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς στρατιᾶς[2] συγκλείσας τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰς πολιορκίαν καὶ πεῖραν πάσης ἀπορίας[3] λαβεῖν ἀναγκάσας ἐπανελέσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὴν χρηστότητα καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως συγγενές, ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων φόβον. συνεχώρησε δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, καὶ συνθήκας ἐποιήσατο καθ' ἃς ἔδει Κυρήνην ἔχοντα τὸν νεώτερον εὐδοκεῖν καὶ σίτου πλῆθος τακτὸν λαμβάνειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς εἰς πολλὴν ἀλλοτριότητα καὶ κινδύνους ἀπηλπισμένους προαχθέντα παραδόξου καὶ φιλανθρώπου συλλύσεως ἔτυχε.

34. Ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὀροφέρνην, ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων προβαινόντων, ἔσπευδον ἀποδοῦναι τοὺς μισθούς, φοβούμενοι μὴ στασιάζειν ἐπιχειρήσωσιν. ἀπορούμενος δὲ τὸ παρὸν χρημάτων ἠναγκάσθη ἱεροσυλῆσαι τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερόν, ὃ καθίδρυται μὲν ὑπὸ τὸ καλούμενον ὄρος Ἀρι-

32b. While returning from Rome the envoys[1] of 157 B.C.
Orophernes formed a plot during the voyage against Ariarathes, but were themselves apprehended and put to death by Ariarathes at Corcyra. Likewise at Corinth when the henchmen of Orophernes laid plans against Ariarathes, he upset their calculations by eluding them, and got safe to Attalus at Pergamum.

33. Thanks to his large army the elder Ptolemy 158/7 B.C.
soon forced his brother[2] to stand a siege and made him undergo every deprivation, yet did not venture to put him to death, partly because of his own innate goodness and their family ties, partly through fear of the Romans. He granted him assurances of personal safety, and made with him an agreement according to which the younger Ptolemy was to rest content with the possession of Cyrenê, and was to receive each year a fixed amount of grain. Thus the relations of the kings, which had advanced to a state of serious estrangement and desperate frays, found an unexpected and humane solution.

34. As the situation worsened Orophernes was anxious to pay his men, for fear they might start a revolution. But being for the present without funds he was driven to plundering the temple of Zeus, which stands beneath the Mountain of Ariadnê, as it

[1] For the occasion of their embassy to Rome see Polybius, 32. 10. Rome's answer (Appian, *Syr.* 47) was that the brothers Ariarathes and Orophernes should rule jointly.

[2] The younger Ptolemy (Physcon), still seeking to add Cyprus to his share of the kingdom, was forced to surrender to Philometor at Lapethus (cp. Polybius, 39. 7).

[1] So Feder: Ἀριαράθην S.
[2] So Dindorf: στρατείας P.
[3] So Valesius: ἀπειρίας P.

ἀδνης, ἄσυλον δ' ἦν ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων. τοῦτο μὲν ἐσύλησε καὶ τὰ προσοφειλόμενα τῶν ὀψωνίων ἀπέδωκεν.

35. Ὅτι Προυσίας ὁ Βιθυνῶν βασιλεὺς ἀποτυχὼν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἄτταλον τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τέμενος τὸ καλούμενον Νικηφόριον διέφθειρεν καὶ τὸν νεὼν ἐλυμήνατο. ἐσύλησε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ξόανα καὶ τὸ περιβόητον ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, δοκοῦν ἔργον εἶναι Φυρομάχου, περιττῶς κατεσκευασμένον, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ πάντ'[1] ἐσύλα. ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτῷ ταχὺ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπεσήμαινε· τῆς γὰρ δυνάμεως δυσεντερίᾳ περιπεσούσης οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν διεφθάρησαν. παραπλήσιον δέ τι συνέβη καὶ περὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν· τοῦ γὰρ στόλου χειμῶνι παραλόγῳ περιπεσόντος ἐν τῇ Προποντίδι συνέβη τῶν νηῶν πολλὰς μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης καταποθῆναι, τινὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐκπεσόντας ναυαγῆσαι. καὶ τὰς πρώτας ἀμοιβὰς τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβείας τοιαύτας[2] ἐκομίσατο.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 289-290.)

36. Ὅτι οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἔχοντες ἀγχίνοιαν καὶ προστασίαν, καὶ ταύτῃ χρώμενοι, διετέλουν καθαπερεί τινας ἑκουσίους φόρους λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων. ἐπιδεξίοις γὰρ θωπεύμασι[3] καὶ ψηφίσμασι τιμῶντες τοὺς ἐν ἐξουσίαις ὄντας, καὶ τοῦτο πράττοντες βεβαίως καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προνοίας, πολλαπλασίους χάριτας κομίζονται καὶ δωρεὰς λαμβάνουσι παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων. παρὰ γὰρ Δημητρίου ἔλαβον πυρῶν δωρεὰν εἴκοσι μυριάδας μεδί-

[1] So Büttner-Wobst: πάντας P, πάντα Vulgate.
[2] ταύτας Dindorf.
[3] So Wurm: ἀτοπήμασι V.

is called, though from remote times it had been held inviolable. This he robbed, and paid off the arrears of their wages.

35. King Prusias of Bithynia, having failed in his design on Attalus, destroyed the sanctuary outside the walls, known as the Nicephorium,[1] and despoiled the temple. He also carried off the votive statues, the images of the gods, and the famous statue of Asclepius, reputed to be by the hand of Phyromachus, a piece of extraordinary workmanship; and he plundered all the shrines. The divine power was quick to requite him in signal fashion. The army was stricken with dysentery, and the greater part of his soldiers perished. A similar fate overtook his naval forces: for when the fleet ran into a sudden storm in the Propontis, many of the vessels were swallowed up by the sea, men and all, while some were driven on the shore and wrecked. Such were the first returns he received for his sacrilege. 156 B.C.

36. The Rhodians, thanks to their shrewdness and the uses to which they turned their prestige, kept receiving payments of voluntary tribute, so to speak, from the kings. For by honouring whatever men are in power with clever flatteries and public decrees, and doing this, moreover, with assurance and keen foresight, they gain favours and receive donations of many times the value from the kings. From Demetrius, for example, they received a gift of two hundred thousand measures of wheat and a hundred thousand

[1] See note on Book 28. 5. For a fuller account of the war see Polybius, 32. 15-16.

μνων, κριθῆς δὲ δέκα, καὶ Εὐμένης προσοφείλων τρεῖς μυριάδας ἐτετελευτήκει· ἐπηγγείλατο δὲ καὶ τὸ θέατρον ὁ βασιλεὺς κατασκευάσειν ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ. Ῥόδιοι μὲν οὖν κάλλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολιτευόμενοι πολλοὺς ἔσχον ἁμιλλωμένους τῶν δυναστῶν εἰς τὰς τῆς πόλεως εὐεργεσίας.

37. Καθόλου δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐλθὼν ὥσπερ τὰ κίβδηλα τῶν νομισμάτων ἀλλοῖος ἐφάνη καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐλαττώμασιν ηὔξησεν.

38. Ὅτι οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐδόκουν παραπλήσιόν τι πεπονθέναι ταῖς τῶν ἄρκτων κυνηγίαις. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα τὰ θηρία κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν δοκοῦντα εἶναι φοβερά, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς προσβάλωσιν οἱ κυνηγοῦντες κυνίδια μικρά, ἐνεργὰ δὲ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς, ὑπὸ τούτων εὐχερέστατα τρέπονται. ἐχόντων γὰρ αὐτῶν τοὺς πόδας ἁπαλοὺς καὶ σαρκώδεις, ἐκ τῶν ὑποκάτω μερῶν δάκνοντα τὰς πτέρνας ἀναγκάζει καθίζειν, ἕως ἂν τις τῶν κυνηγετῶν βαλὼν ἐπιτύχῃ· διὰ γὰρ τὴν βραδυτῆτα καὶ δυσκινησίαν ἀδυνατεῖ †ψαῖραι[1] τῆς τῶν κυνιδίων ἐλαφρότητος. καὶ οἱ Ῥόδιοι διαβεβοημένην ἔχοντες τὴν ἐν τοῖς ναυτικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὑπεροχὴν ὑπὸ μυδίων[2] καὶ τραγωδίων[3] παντελῶς μικρῶν παραδόξως συγκυκλούμενοι[4] πανταχόθεν εἰς δυσχρηστίαν ἐνέπιπτον τὴν μεγίστην.

39. Ὅτι ἐν τῇ Κελτιβηρίᾳ πόλις ἦν μικρὰ

[1] Boissevain suggests ὑπεῖξαι, Post μετᾶραι.
[2] So Müller: μυαίων V.
[3] Perhaps corrupt. Mai's reading, εὐαγωδίων, was emended by Dindorf to ἀκατίων, by Herwerden to λαγῳδίων. But cp. Pollux, 1. 83, for Lycian ships called τράγοι.
[4] So Mai: συγκαλούμενοι V.

of barley, and Eumenes still owed them thirty thousand at his death[1]; this king had also promised to do over their theatre in marble. Thus the Rhodians, while maintaining the best government in Greece, induced many princes to vie with one another in conferring benefactions upon them.

37. But in general when he was put to the test of combat, like base coin he was found to be of other metal, and by his personal shortcomings he enlarged the war.[2] c. 155 B.C.

38. What happened to the Rhodians was rather like a bear hunt. For indeed these beasts, which in size and strength appear so fearsome, are very easily routed when hunters unleash against them little dogs that, though small, are active and brave. For since bears have tender and fleshy feet, the snapping at their heels from beneath compels them to sit still until one of the hunters gets in a blow that strikes home, their slow and cumbersome movements making it impossible for them to . . . the nimbleness of the dogs. So the Rhodians, though world-renowned for their superiority in naval warfare, when unexpectedly surrounded on all sides by a fleet of midget ships, "mice" and "goats," were plunged into the greatest distress.[3]

39. There was in Celtiberia a small city named 153 B.C.

[1] Polybius, 31. 31, notes with disapproval their acceptance of a gift of 280,000 measures of grain from Eumenes.
[2] The reference, as appears from Polybius, 33. 4, is to Aristocrates, the Rhodian commander in the war with Crete.
[3] The exact occasion is unknown, but may pertain to the war with Crete.

Βεγέδα[1] καλουμένη, καὶ ταύτης μεγάλην ἐπίδοσιν λαβούσης ἐψηφίσαντο αὐτὴν μείζονα κατασκευάζειν. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ὑποπτεύσασα τὴν ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὐτῶν ἰσχὺν ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς κωλύσοντας κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας, ἐν αἷς ἦν σὺν ἄλλοις πλείοσι γεγραμμένον μηδὲ κτίζειν πόλιν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν Κελτίβηρας ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων. ἀπεκρίθη δέ τις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ὄνομα Κάκυρος ὅτι κτίζειν μὲν αὐτοὺς αἱ συνθῆκαι κωλύουσιν, αὔξειν δὲ τὰς πατρίδας οὐκ ἀπαγορεύουσιν· αὐτοὺς δὲ μὴ κτίζειν μὴ γεγενημένην πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐπισκευάζειν· οὐδὲν δὲ παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας πράττειν οὐδὲ[2] τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος πάντων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πειθαρχεῖν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ συμμάχους εἶναι προθύμως, ὁπόταν αὐτοῖς χρεία γένηται, τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδομίας κατ' οὐδένα δὴ[3] τρόπον ἀποστήσεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπισημαινομένου τὴν γνώμην, οἱ πρεσβευταὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλαν· ἡ δὲ ἔλυσε τὰς συνθήκας καὶ πόλεμον ἐπήνεγκεν.

40. Ὅτι τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς πολέμους εἷς καιρὸς κρίνει, τοὺς δὲ Κελτιβηρικοὺς ἡ νὺξ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον διέλυσε, τῆς ἀκμῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῆς ὁρμῆς ἔτι μενούσης, τὸν δὲ πόλεμον οὐδὲ[4] χειμὼν διέλυσε. διὸ καὶ τὸν ὑπό τινων λεγόμενον πύρινον πόλεμον οὐκ ἂν ἕτερόν τις ἢ τοῦτον νοήσειεν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 375-377.)

[1] So Mai, but the fourth letter is uncertain (α, ο, or ου rather than ε). Other sources give Σεγήδα, Σεγήδη, or Σεγίδη.
[2] So Dindorf: οὔτε V.
[3] δὴ suggested by Boissevain from faint traces in V.
[4] So Mai: οἱ δὲ V.

Begeda,[1] which, because of a great increase in population, they voted to enlarge. The Roman senate, viewing with suspicion their growth in strength, sent out a commission to stop them in accordance with the treaty,[2] wherein it was stated, along with much else, that without the consent of the Romans the Celtiberians might not found a city. One of the elders, named Cacyrus, replied that the agreement prevented them from founding a city but did not forbid them to enlarge their old homes; that they were not founding a city that had not previously been there, but were reconstructing the city already in existence, and so were doing nothing in violation of the treaty or of the common practice of all mankind. In all else, he said, they were obedient to the Romans, and were wholeheartedly their allies, whenever occasion required their help, but they would in no wise, he added, desist from building their city. When the assembly with one accord signified its approval of these words, the envoys returned with their answer to the senate. The senate then voided the treaty and began hostilities.

40. Whereas a single occasion decides the outcome of wars in Greece, in the Celtiberian wars night generally separated the combatants with vigour and energy still undiminished, and even winter did not bring the war to an end. Hence the term "fiery war," used by some, brings this war to mind before any other.[3]

[1] Better, Segeda: see critical note. Certain other details on this opening incident of the Celtiberian War may be found in Appian, *Hisp.* 44, probably based on Polybius.
[2] The treaty had been made a generation earlier (179 B.C.) by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
[3] This passage is harshly compressed from Polybius, 35. 1.

40a. Ὅτι τῷ Δημητρίῳ πάλιν ἐκ τῶν ὄχλων ἐπέστη περὶ τῆς βασιλείας κίνδυνος διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλοτριότητα. τῶν γὰρ μισθοφόρων τις Ἀνδρίσκος ὄνομα, τὴν δὲ ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁμοίαν ἔχων Φιλίππῳ τῷ Περσέως υἱῷ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων ἐσκώπτετο καὶ Περσέως υἱὸς ἀπεκαλεῖτο· ταχὺ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁ λόγος ἐπιστεύθη. τοῦ δὲ Ἀνδρίσκου κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν φημὴν ἀποτολμήσαντος, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν Περσέως φάσκοντος υἱόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλαστὴν γένεσιν καὶ τροφὴν ἀποφαινομένου, καὶ μετὰ ὄχλου προσελθόντος τῷ Δημητρίῳ καὶ παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν καταγαγεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν βασιλείαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Δημήτριος ἔσχεν ὡς περὶ μωροῦ.[1] τοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἀθροισθέντος, καὶ πολλῶν λεγόντων δεῖν ἢ κατάγειν τὸν Ἀνδρίσκον ἢ παραχωρεῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸν Δημήτριον, εἰ μήτε δύναται μήτε βούλεται βασιλεύειν, φοβηθεὶς τὴν τῶν ὄχλων ὀξύτητα νυκτὸς συνέλαβε τὸν Ἀνδρίσκον καὶ παραχρῆμα εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλε, διασαφῶν τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ συγκλήτῳ.

(*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 201-202.)

41. Ὅτι οἱ Κελτίβηρες μετὰ τὴν νίκην οὐκ ἀφρόνως προνοούμενοι τοῦ μέλλοντος πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλαν πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον περὶ διαλύσεως. ὁ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγούμενος τηρεῖν τὸ τῆς πατρίδος μεγαλόψυχον ἀπεκρίθη τούτοις ἢ διδόναι περὶ πάν-

[1] So de Boor: *περιμνου (s. acc.)* S; *περιμανῆ* Müller, *περὶ μόνου* Feder, Dindorf[4].

---

[1] Possibly "abdicate in favour of Andriscus." This incident, of uncertain date, probably took place at Antioch.

40a. Once again a popular uprising, due to the dis- (?) affection of the masses, threatened Demetrius with the loss of his throne. One of his mercenary troops, a man named Andriscus, bore a close resemblance to Philip, the son of Perseus, both in appearance and stature, and while at first it was only in jest and derision that his friends called him "son of Perseus," soon the statement won popular credence. Andriscus, boldly taking his cue from this talk, not only declared that he was indeed the son of Perseus, but adducing a fictitious story of his birth and upbringing, even approached Demetrius with a crowd of followers and called upon him to restore him to Macedonia and to the throne of his fathers. Now Demetrius at first regarded him as a crank. But when the populace had gathered, and many speakers declared that Demetrius should either restore Andriscus or, if he could not or would not play the king, should abdicate,[1] Demetrius, fearing the quick temper of the mob, had Andriscus arrested during the night and sent him off straightway to Rome with a full report to the senate of the claims made for the man.

41. After this victory the Celtiberians, with a prudent eye to the future, sent envoys to the consul to treat for peace.[2] The consul, however, feeling that it was incumbent upon him to maintain the proud Roman tradition, told them in reply either to place

The whole career of Andriscus is outlined in Zonaras, 9. 28; cp. also below, Book 32. 9a, 9b, and 15.

[2] Generally referred to the defeat of Q. Fulvius Nobilior, 23 August 153 B.C., and the negotiations with the consul of 152 B.C., M. Claudius Marcellus. But the attitude of Marcellus was more conciliatory, and the consul here is therefore probably Nobilior himself. The order of the fragments is not in this case decisive.

των ἐπιτροπὴν Ῥωμαίοις ἢ πράττειν ἐνεργῶς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου. (*Const. Exc.* 1, pp. 403-404.)

42. Ὅτι τοὺς Ἴβηρας καὶ Λυσιτανοὺς ὀνομάζει. φησὶ γὰρ ὡς Μέμμιος ἐξαπέλεκυς στρατηγὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἐξαπέσταλτο μετὰ δυνάμεως, οἱ δὲ Λυσιτανοὶ συστραφέντες πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ λαβόντες ἀπαράσκευον[1] ἐκ κατάπλου, μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησαν καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ διέφθειραν. περιβοήτου δὲ γενομένης τῆς τῶν Ἰβήρων εὐημερίας, οἱ μὲν Ἀρουακοί, νομίσαντες πολὺ κρείττους εἶναι τῶν Ἰβήρων, κατεφρόνησαν τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διὰ ταύτην μάλιστα τὴν αἰτίαν εἵλετο τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον. (Photius, *Bibl.* p. 383 B.)

43. Ὅτι ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων δῆμος ἐπηρμένος μὲν τῷ θυμῷ πρὸς τὴν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὁρμὴν καὶ παρασκευήν, ἀποπίπτων δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, εἰς παραλόγους ἐννοίας ἐνέπιπτε καὶ παραπλησίους τοῖς ἐν ταῖς[2] μακραῖς νόσοις δυσποτμοῦσιν. ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ ὅταν ταῖς παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν θεραπείαις ὑπακούσαντες μηδὲν βέλτιον ἀπαλλάττωσι,[3] καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς θύτας καὶ μάντεις, ἔνιοι δὲ προσδέχονται τὰς ἐπῳδὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰ γένη περιάπτων, καὶ οἱ Ῥόδιοι παραλόγως ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἀποπίπτοντες εἰς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν καταφρονουμένων βοηθείας κατέφευγον καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἔπραττον ἐξ ὧν καταγέλαστοι παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔμελλον ὑποληφθήσεσθαι.

44. Ὅτι οὐχ ἡ κατασκευὴ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν νηῶν, ἀλλ' ἡ τόλμα καὶ τῶν ἀνδραγαθούντων ἐπιβατῶν αἱ χεῖρες καταγωνίζονται. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 377.)

[1] So Rhodoman: ἐκ παρασκευῶν A, ἐκπαράσκευον *dett.*
[2] So Mai: τοῖς V. [3] So Dindorf: ἀπαλλάττουσι V.

themselves entirely at the disposal of the Romans or to carry on the war in earnest.

42. Diodorus also calls the Iberians Lusitanians. 153 B.C. For he says that the praetor Mummius was sent with an army to Iberia and that the Lusitanians, gathering in force and catching him off guard as he came to land, defeated him in battle and wiped out the greater part of his army. When the news of the Iberian victory became known, the Arevaci,[1] considering themselves far superior to the Iberians, made light of the enemy, and the people in their assembly, when they elected to enter the war against the Romans, acted chiefly for this reason.

43. Although the Rhodian people had been aroused to enthusiastic and eager preparations for the war, yet when they were unlucky in their ventures they lapsed into strange ways of thinking, like men long ill who lose heart. For when such men find themselves no better after observing the regimen prescribed by their physicians, they have recourse to those who deal in sacrifice and divination, while some countenance the use of spells and all sorts of amulets. So the Rhodians, suddenly failing in all their ventures, had recourse to the aid of men whom they ordinarily held in contempt, and took a course that was bound to make them ridiculous in the eyes of others.[2]

44. It is not the equipment and size of the ships that bring victory, but the deeds and daring of the stout fighters aboard them.

[1] A people of Further Celtiberia. For the defeat of L. Mummius (called Memmius in the Greek text) see Appian, *Hisp.* 56.
[2] Based on Polybius, 33. 17.

45. Ὅτι οἱ Κρῆτες καταπλεύσαντες εἰς Σίφνον προσέβαλον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ μὲν καταπληξάμενοι τὰ δὲ ἐξαπατήσαντες παρεδέχθησαν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν· δόντες δὲ πίστιν ὥστε μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν, χρώμενοι δὲ τῇ συνήθει τοῖς Κρησὶν ἀθεσίᾳ τήν τε πόλιν ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο καὶ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ναοὺς συλήσαντες εἰς Κρήτην . . .[1] κατάγομοι ταῖς ὠφελείαις ὄντες. ταχὺ δὲ τῆς παρανομίας αὐτοῖς τὸ θεῖον ἐπέθηκε τὴν δίκην, παραδόξως τὴν ἀσέβειαν αὐτῶν ἐπισημηναμένου τοῦ δαιμονίου. συναναγκασθέντες γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων νυκτὸς ποιήσασθαι τὸν ἔκπλουν διὰ τὸ δεδιέναι τὰ μεγέθη τῶν σκαφῶν, μεγάλου πνεύματος ἐπιρράξαντος οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν ὑποβρύχιοι κατεπόθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης, τινὲς δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τῇ γῇ πέτραις προσραχθέντες ἀπώλοντο, παντελῶς δὲ ὀλίγοι διεσώθησαν οἱ τῆς[2] κατὰ τοὺς Σιφνίους ἀθεσίας μὴ μετασχόντες. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 290-291.)

45. The Cretans, putting in at Siphnos, assaulted the city and by intimidation and deceit gained admission within the walls. Having pledged their word to commit no wrong, but acting with customary Cretan faithlessness, they enslaved the city, and after sacking the temples of the gods (set sail) for Crete, laden with their spoil. Swiftly the gods inflicted upon them the penalty for their transgressions, and the divine power signally dealt with their impiety in unexpected fashion. For through fear of the enemy and his large ships they were forced to set sail at night, and, when a gale burst upon them, most of the men were swallowed up by the waves, while some were dashed to death against the rocky shore, and a mere remnant were saved—those who had had no part in the perfidy practised upon the Siphnians.

---

[1] Valesius suggests ἀπῄεσαν.
[2] τῆς added by Valesius.

1. Ὅτι Καρχηδόνιοι πολεμήσαντες πρὸς Μασανάσσην ἔδοξαν καταλελυκέναι τὰς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συνθήκας. πρεσβευσάντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκαν εἰδέναι ὃ δεῖ γενέσθαι. ἀσαφῆ δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι λαβόντες ἐν μεγάλῃ ταραχῇ ὑπῆρχον.

2. Ὅτι οἱ τὰς ἡγεμονίας περιποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι κτῶνται μὲν αὐτὰς ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ συνέσει, πρὸς αὔξησιν δὲ μεγάλην ἄγουσιν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, ἀσφαλίζονται δὲ φόβῳ καὶ καταπλήξει· τούτων δὲ τὰς ἀποδείξεις λάβοις ἂν[1] ταῖς πάλαι ποτὲ συσταθείσαις δυναστείαις ἐπιστήσας τὸν νοῦν καὶ τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένῃ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ.

3. Ὅτι τῶν πρεσβευτῶν τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοὺς[2] αἰτίους τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Μασανάσσην κεκολακέναι[3] ἀποφαινομένων, τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου τινὸς ἀναφωνήσαντος, Καὶ πῶς οὐ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν κατεδικάσθησαν οἱ τῆς διαφορᾶς αἴτιοι γεγονότες, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ πολέμου;

[1] ἂν added by Dindorf.
[2] τοὺς added by Dindorf.
[3] So Dindorf: κεκολακευκέναι V.

---

[1] By the terms of the treaty of 201 B.C. the Carthaginians were forbidden to wage war, even in Africa, without the consent of Rome. In the winter of 151/0 B.C., after long provocation, they fought the Numidians in a brief and unsuccessful war.—This poorly condensed passage seems to be a mere doublet of chap. 3, though it may be noted that Appian, *Pun.* 74, mentions two embassies to Rome.

1. The Carthaginians, by engaging Masinissa in war, were considered to have violated their treaty with Rome.[1] Upon sending an embassy, they were told that the Romans knew what ought to be done. Since the answer they received was so ambiguous, the Carthaginians were greatly disturbed. 150 B.C.

2. Those whose object is to gain dominion over others use courage and intelligence to get it, moderation and consideration for others to extend it widely, and paralysing terror to secure it against attack. The proofs of these propositions are to be found in attentive consideration of the history of such empires as were created in ancient times as well as of the Roman domination that succeeded them.[2]

3. When the envoys of the Carthaginians announced that they had punished those responsible[3] for the war against Masinissa, a member of the senate exclaimed: "And why were those responsible for the dispute not punished then and there, instead of

[2] Possibly, with chap. 4, an excerpt from the preface to the book.
[3] Hasdrubal and Carthalo (Appian, *Pun.* 74).

οἱ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πρεσβεις ἀπεσιώπησαν, οὐκ ἔχοντες δίκαιον οὐδὲ εὔλογον ἀπόφασιν. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀπόφασιν ἔδωκε δυστράπελον καὶ δυσκατανόητον· ἐδογμάτισε γὰρ γινώσκειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὃ δεῖ πράττειν αὐτούς.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 378.)

4. Ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου δουλεύουσαν Ἰλλυριοῖς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβών, τοῖς ὅπλοις ἅμα καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀγχινοίᾳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνεκτήσατο, ταύτην δὲ μεγίστην τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην δυναστειῶν κατεσκεύασεν, ἐπιεικῶς προσφερόμενος τοῖς κρατηθεῖσιν. Ἀθηναίους γὰρ ἀμφισβητοῦντας τῆς ἡγεμονίας νικήσας ἐπιφανεῖ μάχῃ, τοὺς μὲν τετελευτηκότας τῶν ἡττημένων ἀτάφους ἀπολελειμμένους μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐκήδευσε, τοὺς δὲ ἁλόντας ὑπὲρ δισχιλίους ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄνευ λύτρων ἀπέλυσεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν
2 πατρίδα. τοιγαροῦν οἱ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀγωνισάμενοι διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐπιείκειαν ἑκουσίως ἐξεχώρησαν τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς, ὁ δὲ διὰ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ κινδύνων μὴ δυνάμενος τυχεῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ μιᾶς φιλανθρωπίας ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐθελοντὴν τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ τὴν τελευταίαν τῆς βασιλείας παραμονὴν τῷ φόβῳ κατέσχε, κατασκάψας πόλιν
3 μυρίανδρον τὴν Ὄλυνθον. ὁμοίως[1] δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς Ἀλέξανδρος[2] Θήβας μὲν ἁρπάσας τῇ ταύτης

[1] So Valesius: ὅμως P.
[2] So Salmasius, Valesius: Ἀλεξάνδρου P.

[1] Presumably the Carthaginians. According to Appian (*loc. cit.*) the Romans told the Carthaginians that they "had not yet sufficiently cleared themselves" and must "give

at the end of the war?" At this the Carthaginian envoys stood silent, having no honest or plausible reply to give. The senate then returned them an awkward and elusive answer, for they adopted the statement that the Romans well knew what they[1] ought to do.

4. Philip, the son of Amyntas, having succeeded to the throne at a time when Macedonia was enslaved by the Illyrians,[2] wrested his kingdom from them by force of arms and by his shrewdness as a military commander, but it was by the moderation that he displayed towards the vanquished that he made it the greatest power in Europe. When, for example, in a famous battle[3] he defeated the Athenians who disputed his dominance in Greece, he took great pains with the funeral of those slain in the defeat and left behind unburied, while he released without ransom and sent back to their own land the captives, to the number of more than two thousand. As a result those who had taken up arms in the contest for leadership now, because of his clemency towards them, willingly resigned their authority over the Greek states; while he, who in many struggles and battles had failed to achieve that authority, through a single act of kindness received with the free consent of his opponents the leadership of all Hellas. And finally he secured the permanence of his kingdom by the use of fear, when he levelled to the ground a populous city, Olynthus. In like manner his son Alexander, after seizing Thebes, by the de-

satisfaction to the Romans." Asked to spell out what this meant, the Romans replied "that the Carthaginians well knew."

[2] Cp. Book 16. 1.
[3] The battle of Chaeronea, 338 B.C.; cp. Book 16. 87.

τῆς πόλεως ἀπωλείᾳ τοὺς πρὸς νεωτερισμὸν ὁρμωμένους Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἀπέτρεψεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας πολέμοις ἐπιεικέστατα χρώμενος τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις οὐ μόνον ἀνδρείᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμερότητι περιβοήτῳ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντας ἐπιθυμητὰς ἔσχε τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς.

4 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίας ὀρεχθέντες συνεστήσαντο μὲν αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς τῶν ὅπλων ἀνδρείας, πρὸς αὔξησιν δὲ μεγίστην ἤγαγον ἐπιεικέστατα χρώμενοι τοῖς καταπολεμηθεῖσιν. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπέσχον τῆς κατὰ τῶν ὑποπεπτωκότων ὠμότητος καὶ τιμωρίας ὥστε δοκεῖν μὴ ὡς πολεμίοις ἀλλ' ὡς εὐεργέταις καὶ φίλοις[1] προσφέρεσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ κρατηθέντες προσεδόκων τῆς ἐσχάτης τεύξεσθαι[2] τιμωρίας ὡς πολέμιοι γεγονότες, οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες ὑπερβολὴν ἐπιεικείας ἑτέροις οὐ κατέλειπον. οἷς μὲν γὰρ πολιτείας μετέδοσαν, οἷς δὲ ἐπιγαμίας[3] συνεχώρησαν, τισὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτονομίαν ἀπέδοσαν, οὐδενὶ
5 μνησικακήσαντες πικρότερον τοῦ δέοντος. τοιγαροῦν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἡμερότητος οἵ τε βασιλεῖς καὶ αἱ πόλεις καὶ συλλήβδην τὰ ἔθνη πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ηὐτομόλησαν. οὗτοι δὲ σχεδὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔχοντες ταύτην ἠσφαλίσαντο φόβῳ καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων πόλεων ἀπωλείᾳ. Κόρινθον γὰρ κατέσκαψαν καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐρριζοτόμησαν, οἷον τὸν Περσέα, καὶ Καρχηδόνα κατέσκαψαν καὶ ἐν

struction of this city deterred from rebellion the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, who were starting to revolt; yet in his Persian campaigns, by treating prisoners of war with the greatest kindness, he made the renown of his clemency as well as his courage contribute to his success in making the Asiatics eager to be ruled by him.

In more recent times the Romans, when they went in pursuit of world empire, brought it into being by the valour of their arms, then extended its influence far and wide by the kindest possible treatment of the vanquished. So far, indeed, did they abstain from cruelty and revenge on those subjected to them that they appeared to treat them not as enemies, but as if they were benefactors and friends. Whereas the conquered, as former foes, expected to be visited with fearful reprisals, the conquerors left no room for anyone to surpass them in clemency. Some they enrolled as fellow citizens, to some they granted rights of intermarriage, to others they restored their independence, and in no case did they nurse a resentment that was unduly severe. Because of their surpassing humanity, therefore, kings, cities, and whole nations went over to the Roman standard. But once they held sway over virtually the whole inhabited world, they confirmed their power by terrorism and by the destruction of the most eminent cities. Corinth they razed to the ground, the Macedonians (Perseus for example) they rooted out, they razed

[1] πολεμίοις . . . εὐεργέταις . . . φίλοις] Nock suggests πολέμιοι . . . εὐεργέται . . . φίλοι. P has πολεμίους, corrected by Valesius, and εὐεργετας (s. acc.).
[2] So Valesius: ἔχεσθαι P.
[3] So Salmasius, Valesius: ἐπιγαμίαις P.

Κελτιβηρίᾳ τὴν Νομαντίαν, καὶ πολλοὺς κατεπλήξαντο.

5. Ὅτι σφόδρα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι φιλοτιμοῦνται δικαίους ἐνίστασθαι τοὺς πολέμους καὶ μηδὲν εἰκῇ καὶ προπετῶς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ψηφίζεσθαι.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 291-292.)

6. Ὅτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατευσάντων πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι πυθόμενοι τὸν εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον κατάπλουν καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον οὐδαμῶς καταβαίνοντες πρεσβευτὰς ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Ῥώμην, οἳ ἐνεχείρισαν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἑαυτούς τε καὶ τῆς πατρίδος τὰ πράγματα. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος δεξαμένη τὴν παράδοσιν τῆς χώρας ἔδωκεν ἀπόκρισιν, ἐπεὶ καλῶς βουλεύονται Καρχηδόνιοι, δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἡ σύγκλητος νόμους, χώραν, ἱερά, τάφους, ἐλευθερίαν, ὕπαρξιν, οὐδαμοῦ προστιθεῖσα πόλιν τὴν Καρχηδόνα, παρακρύπτουσα δὲ τὴν ταύτης ἀναίρεσιν. τεύξεσθαι δὲ τούτων τῶν φιλανθρωπιῶν, ἐὰν ὁμήρους δῶσι τριακοσίους υἱοὺς τῶν συγκλητικῶν καὶ πείθωνται τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων παραγγελλο-
2 μένοις. οἱ δὲ νομίσαντες ἀπολελύσθαι τοῦ πολέμου τοὺς ὁμήρους ἐξέπεμψαν μετὰ πολλῆς οἰμωγῆς. εἶτα ἦλθον εἰς Ἰτύκην.[1] οἱ δὲ πάλιν πρεσβευτὰς ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς πευσομένους εἴ τι ἕτερον αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ποιεῖν κελεύουσι. τῶν δὲ ὑπάτων εἰπόντων παραδοῦναι τὰ ὅπλα ἀδόλως καὶ τοὺς καταπέλτας, οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τὸν πρὸς Ἀσδρούβαν πόλεμον βαρέως ἔφερον· παρέλαβον δὲ

Carthage and the Celtiberian city of Numantia, and there were many whom they cowed by terror.

5. The Romans make it a point to embark only upon wars that are just, and to make no casual or precipitate decisions about such matters.[1]

6. When the Romans sent out an expeditionary 149 B.C.
force against the Carthaginians and news reached Carthage that the fleet was already at Lilybaeum, the Carthaginians, abstaining from all acts of hostility, sent legates to Rome,[2] who placed themselves and their country at the disposal of the Romans. The senate, accepting their surrender, made answer that inasmuch as the Carthaginians were well advised, the senate granted them their laws, territory, sanctuaries, tombs, freedom, and property (the city of Carthage, however, was nowhere mentioned, their intention to destroy it being suppressed): these mercies the Carthaginians were to obtain provided they gave three hundred hostages, senators' sons, and obeyed the orders of the consuls. The Carthaginians, thinking that they were quit of the war, sent the hostages, not without great lamentation. Then the Romans arrived in Utica.[3] Carthage again sent envoys to learn if the Romans had further demands to make upon them. When the consuls told them to surrender, without fraud, their arms and artillery, they were at first cast down, inasmuch as they were at war with Hasdrubal[4]; none the less

[1] For the sentiment cp. Polybius, 36. 2 and frag. 99.
[2] For the narrative cp. Polybius, 36. 2-6, and, more fully, Appian, *Pun.* 75 ff.
[3] Utica had already surrendered to Rome.
[4] Now in exile, Hasdrubal had taken up arms against the state.

[1] So Ursinus: ἰτύνην O.

ὅπλων παντοδαπῶν εἴκοσι μυριάδας καὶ καταπέλτας
δισχιλίους. εἶτα πάλιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διεπέμψαντο
πρὸς Καρχηδονίους ἀποστεῖλαί τινας ἐκ τῆς γε-
ρουσίας κελεύοντες, οἷς[1] τὸ καταλειπόμενον πρόσ-
3 ταγμα διασαφήσουσιν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα τῶν ἐπι-
φανεστάτων ἀπέστειλαν. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος τῶν
ὑπάτων Μανίλιος[2] εἶπεν ὅτι τῇ συγκλήτῳ δέδοκται
ἣν μὲν νῦν οἰκοῦσι πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν, ἑτέραν δὲ κτίσαι
τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπέχουσαν σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα.
τῶν δὲ πρεσβευτῶν εἰς οἶκτον καὶ ἔλεον τραπέντων,
καὶ πάντων ῥιψάντων ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ
πολὺν κλαυθμὸν μετὰ δακρύων προϊεμένων, δια-
τροπὴ μεγάλη τὸ συνέδριον ἐπέσχεν. μόγις[3] δὲ τῶν
Καρχηδονίων ἀπὸ τῆς καταπλήξεως ἀναλεξαμένων,
μόνος ὁ Βλάννων καλούμενος οἰκείαν τῆς περι-
στάσεως φωνὴν προέμενος διελέχθη παραστατικῶς[4]
ἅμα καὶ παρρησιαζόμενος, εἴς τε[5] οἶκτον προαγό-
μενος τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

4 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀμετάθετοι ταῖς γνώμαις ὄντες πρὸς τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς Καρχηδόνος προσέταξαν ἀπιέναι ταχέως εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα τοῖς πολίταις ἀπαγγέλλειν. τῶν δὲ πρέσβεών τινες[6] μὲν ἀπογνόντες τὴν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορείαν ἔφυγον οἷ ποτ'[7] οὖν ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἑλόμενοι ἐπανῆλθον τὴν ὀλέθριον πρεσ-

[1] So Ursinus: *οἱ* O. [2] So Ursinus: *Μαιμίλιος* O.
[3] *μόλις* Suidas, *s.v. ἀναλεξάμενος*.
[4] *παραστατικῶς* Suidas, *s.v. παραστατεῖν*: *περιστατικῶς* O.
[5] *εἴς τε* Reiske: *εἰς δὲ* O. Dindorf indicates a lacuna after *ἀκούοντας*. [6] *οἱ* after *τινες* deleted by Dindorf.
[7] *οἷ ποτ'* Post: *ὁπότ'* O.

(the Romans)[1] received from them two hundred thousand weapons of all sorts and two thousand catapults. Thereupon the Romans again sent word to the Carthaginians, bidding them appoint a delegation of Elders, to whom they would make known their final directive. The Carthaginians dispatched thirty men of the highest rank. Manilius,[2] the elder of the consuls, stated that the senate had decreed that they should abandon the city they now inhabited, and should found another at a distance of eighty stades[3] from the sea. At this the envoys resorted to lamentation and appeals for pity, all casting themselves to the ground and mingling cries of grief with tears. And a great wave of emotion swept over the assembly. When the Carthaginians after a struggle recovered from their consternation, one man alone, a certain Blanno, uttered words appropriate to the occasion, and speaking with desperate courage yet with complete frankness aroused feelings of pity in all who heard him.[4]

The Romans, being immovable in their resolve to destroy Carthage, ordered the envoys to return straightway to Carthage and to report to the citizens what had been decreed.[5] Some of the envoys, considering it hopeless to return home, individually sought refuge as best they could, but the others, electing to return, made their way back, their fatal

[1] The abrupt transition and the omission of the subject seem to indicate that the narrative has been condensed.
[2] M'. Manilius. The Greek text gives the name as Maemilius.
[3] About ten Roman miles.
[4] His speech is recorded in Appian, *Pun.* 83-85. Appian gives his name as Banno (*Βάννων*), surnamed Tigillas.
[5] See Appian, *Pun.* 86-91, especially 90-91, and Polybius, 36. 7.

βείαν τετελεκότες. τῶν δὲ ὄχλων ὑπαπαντώντων, τούτοις μὲν οὐδὲν ἐλάλουν, τὰς δὲ ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὰς τύπτοντες καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐπανατείνοντες καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβοώμενοι προῆγον εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀπήγγειλαν τὰ προστεταγμένα.

(*Const. Exc.* 1, pp. 404-405.)

7. Ὅτι Σκιπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς κληθεὶς ὕστερον, τότε δὲ χιλίαρχος ὤν, τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς εἰς ὁμολογίαν καὶ ὅρκους καταντήσαντας παρασπονδούντων καὶ τὴν δοθεῖσαν πίστιν ἀθετούντων, οὗτος τοὐναντίον μάλιστα τὰς δοθείσας πίστεις τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐτήρει καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐγχειρίζουσιν ἐπιεικῶς προσεφέρετο. διὸ καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ φήμης δικαίας διαδιδομένης κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην, οὐθεὶς τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἐνεπίστευεν αὑτόν, εἰ μὴ Σκιπίωνι συντίθοιτο[1] τὰς ὁμολογίας.

8. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν μάχην τριῶν Ῥωμαίων πεσόντων καὶ τούτων ἀτάφων γεγονότων, πάντες χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπωλείᾳ τε καὶ στερήσει τῆς ταφῆς. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ ὑπάτου διὰ γραμμάτων παρεκάλεσε τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν θάψαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὗ ποιήσαντος τὸ παρακληθὲν καὶ μετὰ μεγάλης τιμῆς κηδεύσαντος τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὰ ὀστέα πέμψαντος πρὸς τὸν ὕπατον, ὁ Σκιπίων προέκοπτε τῇ δόξῃ, ὡς ἂν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις μεγάλης τυγχάνων ἀποδοχῆς.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 292.)

[1] So Valesius: συνετίθοιτο (but οι in ras.) P.

---

[1] The council of elders. Polybius, 10. 18 and 36. 4 (cp. Livy, 30. 16), distinguishes this council from the senate (σύγκλητος), but elsewhere the two terms (and συνέδριον) seem to be used without discrimination (*e.g.* above, Book 25. 16).

mission completed. As the populace thronged to meet them, they said not a word to them, but beating their heads, raising aloft their hands, and calling upon the gods for aid, they proceeded to the market-place and reported to the *gerousia* [1] the orders imposed by the Romans.

7. Scipio (he who was later called Africanus but who at this time was a mere tribune of the soldiers), unlike the other tribunes,[2] who disregarding their pledged word broke faith with those who had reached sworn agreements with them, was most faithful in adhering to his promises to the besieged and was honest in his dealings with all who put themselves in his hands. For this reason, and because his reputation for justice was becoming known throughout Libya, no one under siege would give himself up unless Scipio was a party to the agreement.

8. Since three Romans who fell in this engagement [3] had remained unburied, the whole army was distressed at the loss of the men and, above all, at their being deprived of burial. Scipio, with the consent of the consul, sent a written appeal to Hasdrubal [4] to give them burial. He acceded to the appeal, performed the rites of burial with all due honour, and sent their bones to the consul; whereby Scipio advanced in esteem, as a man who was highly influential even with the enemy. Winter, 149/8 B.C.

[2] "Tribunes" is lacking in the text, but can be supplied from the parallel account in Appian, *Pun.* 101.

[3] The battle fought near Nepheris. According to Appian, *Pun.* 102 and 104, the three Romans were tribunes who out of jealousy of Scipio had urged the consul to disregard his good advice.

[4] He had been recalled from exile and appointed general as soon as Carthage decided to resist (Appian, *Pun.* 93).

9. Ὅτι αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Καρχηδονίων προσέφερον χρυσοῦς κόσμους· ἐσχάτης γὰρ οὔσης τῆς τοῦ βίου περιγραφῆς,[1] ἅπαντες οὐκ ἀπολλύναι τὰ χρήματα διελάμβανον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τούτων δόσεως ἔκρινον ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 378.)

Chaps. 9a, 9b: see below, after Chap. 17. 1
Chaps. 9c, 9d, 10-12: see below, after Chap. 27.

13. [Τῷ κατὰ τὴν Καρχηδόνα λιμένι, προσαγορευομένῳ δὲ Κώθωνι· περὶ οὗ τὰς κατὰ μέρος εὐχρηστίας ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις πειρασόμεθα διελθεῖν.] (Diod. 3. 44. 8.)

14. Ὅτι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Καρχηδονίων τῆς πόλεώς φησιν ὕψος μὲν εἶναι πηχῶν τεσσαράκοντα, πλάτος δὲ εἰκοσιδύο· ὅμως καὶ τοιούτων ὄντων αἱ Ῥωμαίων μηχαναὶ καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀνδραγαθήματα κρείττους ὤφθησαν τῆς ἐκείνων ἀσφαλείας, καὶ ἑάλω ἡ πόλις καὶ κατηρειπώθη.

(Photius, *Bibl.* p. 383 B.)

15. [Περὶ αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἄλλως ἡ διήγησις.] Δημητρίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναπέμψαντος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην νεανίσκον τινὰ ὡς Περσέως υἱὸν ὄνομα Ἀνδρίσκον, τοῦτον ἡ σύγκλητος οἰκεῖν προσέταξεν ἔν τινι πόλει τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ὁ δὲ μετά
2 τινα χρόνον διαδρὰς ἀπῆρεν εἰς Μίλητον. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ διατρίβων ἐλογοποίει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ Περσέως ἑαυτὸν ἀποφαινόμενος ὑπάρχειν υἱόν. ἔφη δὶ ἑαυτὸν[2] νήπιον ὄντα δεδόσθαι . . . τῳ τῷ Κρητ,

[1] So Kallenberg: παραγραφῆς V.
[2] δ' ἑαυτὸν Feder: δὲ αὐτὸν S.

9. The Carthaginian women contributed their gold jewelry. For now that life clung to the last narrow foothold, the whole populace felt that they were not losing their wealth, but were by their gift re-establishing their own safety.[1]

13. [The harbour of Carthage is known as Cothon. Of its several advantages we shall endeavour to give a full account at the appropriate time.]

14. He says that the wall of Carthage is forty cubits in height and twenty-two in breadth.[2] Notwithstanding, the siege engines of the Romans and their martial exploits proved stronger than the Carthaginian defences, and the city was captured and levelled to the ground.

15. [Concerning him there is again an account elsewhere.[3]] When King Demetrius sent on to Rome the self-styled son of Perseus, a young man named Andriscus, the senate ordered him to live in a certain city of Italy. But after a period he escaped and sailed off to Miletus. During his stay there he invented tales about himself purporting to demonstrate that he was the son of Perseus. He said that while still an infant he had been given to . . . the Cretan

[1] For the remainder of this book some adjustment of Dindorf's arrangement has been made, wherever it seemed demonstrably at fault. In particular, Dindorf disregarded the order of the fragments in the collection *De Insidiis*, where chapters 15 and 17. 1 *precede* 9 b-d. In addition, chap. 9 should perhaps follow chap. 6, as indicative of the attitude at Carthage (cp. Appian, *Pun.* 93) at the outbreak of open war.
[2] See Appian, *Pun.* 95-96, for a description of the city, its fortifications, and its harbours.
[3] An editorial comment of the excerptor, linking this chapter with Book 31. 40a. For the story of Andriscus see also Polybius, 36. 10; Livy, *Per.* and *Oxy. Per.* 49-50.

πρὸς ἀνατροφήν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Κρητὸς αὐτῷ πινακίδιον κατεσφραγισμένον ἀναδεδόσθαι, δι' οὗ τὸν Περσέα διασαφεῖν[1] αὐτῷ θησαυροὺς εἶναι κειμένους δύο, τὸν μὲν ἕνα ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει κείμενον ὑπὸ τὴν ὁδὸν †ὀργυαῖον[2] τὸ βάθος ὄντα δέκα, ἔχοντα δὲ ἀργυρίου τάλαντα ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, ταλάντων ἑβδομήκοντα, κατὰ μέσην τὴν ἐξέδραν τὴν ἐν τῷ περιστύλῳ κατὰ
3 τὴν αὐλήν. πολλῶν δὲ αὐτῷ προσεχόντων, ἦλθεν ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν Μιλησίων, οἳ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπέθεντο. καί τινων πρέσβεων παρεπιδημούντων, προσανήνεγκαν αὐτοῖς[3] συμβουλευόμενοι τί χρὴ πρᾶξαι. οἱ δὲ ἐγγελάσαντες ἐκέλευον ἀφεῖναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον
4 πλανᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὴν ἄφεσιν ἐφιλοτιμήθη τὴν τοῦ δράματος συντέλειαν πρὸς τέλος ἀγαγεῖν. ἀεὶ δὲ λαμπρότερον εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν εὐγένειαν διατιθέμενος ἐξηπάτησεν πολλούς, καὶ αὐτοὺς
5 Μακεδόνας. ἔχων δὲ συνεργὸν Νικόλαόν τινα ψάλτην, Μακεδόνα τὸ γένος, ἐπύθετο παρ' αὐτοῦ παλλακίδα γεγενημένην Περσέως τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα Καλλίππαν συνοικεῖν Ἀθηναίῳ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ. πρὸς ταύτην οὖν διελθὼν καὶ τραγῳδήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς Περσέα συγγένειαν εὐπόρησε παρ' αὐτῆς ἐφόδια καὶ στολὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ διάδημα καὶ δύο παῖδας πρὸς τὰς χρείας εὐθέτους· ἤκουσε δ' αὐτῆς ὅτι καὶ Τήρης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ἔχει γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ βεβασιλευκότος[4] θυγα-

[1] So Müller: περσέων διαστραφεῖν S.

to rear, and that the Cretan had transmitted to him a sealed tablet, in which Perseus revealed to him the existence of two treasures, one at Amphipolis, lying beneath the highway at a depth of ten fathoms (?), containing one hundred and fifty talents of silver, and the other, of seventy talents, at Thessalonica, in the middle of the exedra of the colonnade, opposite the court. Since his story attracted much attention, it finally reached the ears of the magistrates of Miletus, who arrested him and placed him in prison. Certain envoys happening to visit the city, they referred the matter to them, seeking advice on what should be done. They scoffingly bade the magistrates let the fellow loose to go his own way. He, on receiving his release, set himself in earnest to act out and make a reality of his mummery. By constantly embroidering the story of his royal birth, he gulled many, even the Macedonians themselves. Having as his accomplice a certain harpist named Nicolaüs, a Macedonian by birth, he learned from him that a woman called Callippa, who had been a concubine of King Perseus, was now the wife of Athenaeus of Pergamum. Accordingly he made his way to her, and pouring out his romantic tale of kinship to Perseus procured from her funds for his travels, a regal costume, a diadem, and two slaves suited to his needs. From her he heard, moreover, that Teres, a Thracian chieftain, was married to a daughter of the late King Philip.[1]

[1] *i.e.* Perseus' son, the man whom Andriscus was impersonating. He had survived his father by two years but never held the throne, and died a captive in Italy.

[2] ὀργυιῶν Müller, Dindorf.
[3] So Feder, Müller: αὐτῷ S.
[4] So Feder, Müller: βασιλευκότος S.

6 τέρα. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀφορμῶν μετεωρισθεὶς προῆγεν εἰς Θρᾴκην. ἐν παρόδῳ δὲ καταντήσας εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐτιμήθη· καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἀφροσύνης ἔδωκαν δίκας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οἱ[1] Βυζάντιοι. πλειόνων δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν συρρεόντων, ἧκεν εἰς Θρᾴκην πρὸς Τήρην. ὁ δὲ τοῦτον τιμήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας ἑκατὸν καὶ διάδημα περιέθηκεν.
7 διὰ δὲ τούτου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δυνάσταις συσταθεὶς ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτῶν ἄλλους ἑκατόν, καὶ πορευθεὶς πρὸς Βαρσαβὰν τὸν Θρᾳκῶν βασιλέα ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν συγκοινωνῆσαι τῆς στρατείας καὶ καταγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἀμφισβητῶν[2] τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλείας ὡς οὔσης πατρῴας. ὑπὸ δὲ Μακεδονικοῦ[3] καταπολεμηθεὶς ὁ Ψευδοφίλιππος ἔφυγεν εἰς Θρᾴκην . . . τέλος[4] ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο τῶν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν πόλεων. (*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 202-203.)

16. Ὅτι Μασανάσσης[5] ὁ Λιβύων βεβασιλευκὼς καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν τετηρηκὼς ἐνενήκοντα μὲν ἐβίω ἔτη ἐν δυνάμει, παῖδας δέκα ἐν τῷ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι καταλιπών, οὓς καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτροπεύεσθαι παρεκατέθετο. ἦν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐτονίαν διαφέρων καὶ καρτερίᾳ καὶ πόνοις συνήθης ἐκ παιδός· ὅς γε στὰς ἐν τοῖς ἴχνεσιν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀκίνητος ἔμενε, καθεζόμενος δὲ

[1] οἱ added by Feder, Dindorf.
[2] ἀμφισβητοῦντα Müller, Dindorf.
[3] So Walton (cp. Zonaras, 9. 28): Μακεδόνος S, Μακεδόνων Müller.
[4] τέλος] ὁ δὲ Μέτελλος Herwerden.
[5] So Hoeschel: Μανασ(σ)ῆς.

Encouraged by this support he made for Thrace. On the way he stopped at Byzantium and was received with honour—a display of folly for which the citizens of Byzantium later paid the penalty to Rome. With more and more people flocking to him, he arrived in Thrace at the court of Teres. As a mark of honour Teres presented him with a troop of a hundred soldiers, and placed a diadem on his head. Recommended by him to the other chieftains, Andriscus received from them another hundred men. Proceeding to the court of the Thracian chieftain Barsabas, he prevailed upon him to take part in the expedition and to escort him home to Macedonia, for he was now asserting, on the grounds of inheritance, a legal claim to the Macedonian throne. Defeated in battle 148 B.C.
by Macedonicus[1] this false Philip took refuge in Thrace. . . . Finally he[2] gained the upper hand in the cities throughout Macedonia.

16. Masinissa, the late king of Libya, who had Winter,
always maintained friendly relations with Rome, 149/8 B.C.
lived till the age of ninety, in full possession of his faculties,[3] and at his death left ten sons, whom he entrusted to the guardianship of Rome. He was a man remarkable for his physical vigour, and had, from the days of his childhood, accustomed himself to endurance and strenuous activities: indeed, standing in his tracks he would remain motionless the whole day long, or sit all day until nightfall with-

[1] Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, sent out as praetor in 148 B.C. after the defeat and death of P. Iuventius Thalna (cp. Livy, *Per.* and *Oxy. Per.* 50; Zonaras, 9. 28). The two final sentences seem to be carelessly abbreviated from a later part of the narrative.
[2] Probably Metellus.
[3] Or " lived ninety years in a position of authority."—The eulogy of Masinissa is somewhat abbreviated from Polybius, 36. 16. For his death see Appian, *Pun.* 105-106.

οὐκ ἠγείρετο, μέχρι νυκτὸς ἐνημερεύων ταῖς τῶν πόνων μελέταις, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἵππον ἐπιβαίνων συνεχῶς ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα καὶ ταῖς ἱππασίαις χρώμενος οὐκ ἐξελύετο. σημεῖον δὲ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν εὐεξίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως μέγιστον· ἐνενήκοντα γὰρ σχεδὸν ἔχων ἔτη υἱὸν εἶχε τετραετῆ διαφέροντα τῇ τοῦ σώματος ῥώμῃ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπιμελείαις τοσοῦτον διήνεγκεν ὡς ἑκάστῳ τῶν υἱῶν ἀπολιπεῖν ἀγρὸν μυριόπλεθρον, κεκοσμημένον πάσαις ταῖς κατασκευαῖς. ἐβασίλευσε δ᾽ ἐπιφανῶς ἔτη ἑξήκοντα. (Photius, *Bibl.* p. 383 B.)

17. 1. Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων εἰς λόγους συνελθὼν τῷ Φαμέᾳ[1] καὶ μεγάλας αὐτῷ προτείνων ἐλπίδας ἔπεισεν ἀποστῆναι τῶν Καρχηδονίων μεθ᾽ ἱππέων χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων. (*Const. Exc.* 3, p. 203.)

Chap. 17. 2: see below, after Chap. 9b.

9a. Ὅτι ὁ Ψευδοφίλιππος περιβοήτῳ μάχῃ νικήσας Ῥωμαίους ἐξετράπη πρὸς ὠμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν τυραννικήν. πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ τῶν εὐπόρων ἀνεῖλεν, ἐπιρρίψας αἰτίας διαβολῆς ψευδοῦς, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐμιαιφόνησεν. ἦν γὰρ φύσει θηριώδης καὶ φονικὸς καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐντεύξεις ὑπερήφανος, ἔτι δὲ πλεονεξίας καὶ πάσης κακίας ἀνάπλεως. (*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 293.)

2 Ὅτι Κάτων Μάρκος Πόρκιος, ἀποδοχῆς[2] τυγχάνων μεγάλης ἐπὶ συνέσει, ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπό τινος τί πράττει ὁ Σκιπίων κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην εἶπεν,

οἶος[3] πέπνυται, τοὶ[4] δὲ σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσιν.

[1] So Müller: Φανέᾳ S.
[2] δὲ after ἀποδοχῆς deleted by Dindorf.

out stirring, busy with his affairs; and mounted on horseback he would even ride a whole day and a night, continuously, without growing faint. The following is a prime indication of his good health and vitality: though nearly ninety, he had at the time of his death a son aged four, who was a remarkably sturdy child. In the care of his fields Masinissa was so outstanding that he left each of his sons a farm of ten thousand plethra, well equipped with all necessary buildings. His distinguished career as a king lasted sixty years.

17. 1. At his rendezvous with Phameas, Scipio, by holding out great hopes, persuaded him to desert the Carthaginians, along with twelve hundred cavalry.[1]

9a. The pseudo-Philip, after gaining a resounding 148 B.C.
victory over the Romans,[2] shifted to a course of savage cruelty and tyrannical disregard for law. He put many wealthy persons to death, after first throwing out false and slanderous charges against them, and murdered not a few even of his friends. For he was by nature brutal, bloodthirsty, and arrogant in manner, and was, moreover, shot through with greed and every base quality.

Marcus Porcius Cato, a man widely acclaimed for sagacity, when asked by someone how Scipio was faring in Libya, said: "He alone has sense, the others flit about like shadows." Moreover, the popu-

[1] Cp. Appian, *Pun.* 107-108. The date is late winter, 149/8 B.C.
[2] Probably the victory over P. Iuventius Thalna, praetor of 149 B.C., whose death, however, probably occurred early in the following year. For the conduct of Andriscus cp. Polybius, 36. 17. 13.

[3] μόνος φρονεῖ after οἶος deleted by Dindorf.
[4] So Mai: τοῖς V.

ὁ δὲ δῆμος τηλικαύτην εὔνοιαν ἔσχε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ὥστε ὕπατον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 378.)

3 Ὅτι ὁ δῆμος τηλικαύτην εὔνοιαν ἔσχε πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὥστε μήτε τῆς ἡλικίας συγχωρούσης μήτε τῶν νόμων ἐπιτρεπόντων μεγάλην εἰσφέρεσθαι σπουδὴν εἰς τὸ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περιθεῖναι.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 293.)

9b. Ὅτι ὁ Ψευδοφίλιππος Τελεστὴν προεχειρίσατο στρατηγόν. ὁ δὲ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίσι ψυχαγωγούμενος ἀπέστη μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ πρὸς Καικίλιον ἀπεχώρησεν. ὁ δὲ Ψευδοφίλιππος ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν ἀγανακτήσας τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα τοῦ Τελεστοῦ συλλαβὼν ἐτιμωρήσατο. (*Const. Exc.* 3, p. 203.)

Chaps. 9c, 9d, 10-12: see below, after Chap. 27.

17. 2. Ὅτι ἡ τύχη πᾶν καθάπερ[1] ἐπίτηδες ἀγωνοθετοῦσα τὰς συμμαχίας ἐναλλὰξ τοῖς διαπολεμοῦσι παρείχετο. (*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 378.)

18. Ὅτι ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος Καλπούρνιος δι' ὁμολογίας τινὰς τῶν πόλεων εἰληφὼς κατέσκαψεν, οὐδὲν τῆς πίστεως φροντίσας. διόπερ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἀπιστούμενος ἀπετύγχανεν, ὥσπερ δαιμονίου τινὸς ἀντιπράττοντος. εἰς πολλὰς γὰρ ἐπιβολὰς . . .[2] δυσεπιτεύκτους ἔσχε τὰς πράξεις.

19. Ὅτι ὁ Προυσίας ὁ βασιλεὺς τήν τε ὄψιν ὧν

[1] πᾶν καθάπερ Herwerden: παρκαθάπερ V.

[2] Herwerden suggests for the lacuna δοὺς ἑαυτόν.

lace conceived such a liking for the man that he became consul.[1]

The populace conceived such a liking for Scipio that even though his age did not allow it nor the laws permit, they bent their best efforts to confer upon him the consulship.

9b. The false Philip appointed Telestes general. He, however, seduced by the promises of the Romans, revolted and went over with his cavalry to Caecilius. The pseudo-Philip, enraged at his conduct, arrested the wife and children of Telestes, and vented his anger on them.

17. 2. Fortune, embroiling the whole situation as if of set purpose, furnished alliances to first one and then the other of the contestants.[2]

18. The Roman consul Calpurnius,[3] after accepting the surrender of certain towns, razed them to the ground in disregard of his pledged word. Hence, being distrusted, he failed in all his undertakings, as if some divine agency were working against him. For though he attempted much his actions were ineffective.

19. Since King Prusias had repulsive features and 149 B.C.

[1] Cato died in 149 B.C., and Scipio was elected consul in 148 for the following year (Appian, *Pun.* 112). The present passage could therefore belong to the narrative of either 149 or 148 B.C. Cato's remark is an adaptation of Homer, *Od.* 10. 495.

[2] It is not certain to which conflict this refers, but the order of the fragments is against placing it with chap. 17. 1, where Dindorf has it.

[3] L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, consul in 148 B.C. For his conduct and lack of success in Libya see Appian, *Pun.* 110, and Zonaras, 9. 29.

εἰδεχθὴς καὶ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ἔχων γυναικεῖον ὑπὸ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἐμισεῖτο.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 293.)

20. Ὅτι ἡ σύγκλητος πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τοὺς καταλύσοντας τὸν πόλεμον Νικομήδους καὶ Προυσίου τοῦ ἰδίου πατρός, καὶ εἵλετο ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν πρεσβείαν Λικίννιον ποδαγρικὸν καὶ Μαγκῖνον,[1] ὃς κατατετρημένος ἦν τὴν κεφαλὴν κεραμῖδος ἐπιπεσούσης καὶ τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τῶν ὀστῶν ἐξῃρημένος, καὶ Λεύκιον παντελῶς ἀναίσθητον. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀφηγούμενος τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ συνέσει διαφέρων εἶπεν ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ διότι πρεσβείαν ἀποστέλλομεν οὔτε πόδας οὔτε κεφαλὴν οὔτε καρδίαν ἔχουσαν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν τὴν εὐστοχίαν περιβόητον ἔσχε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, p. 379.)

21. Ὅτι Νικομήδης Προυσίαν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα καταπολεμήσας, καὶ καταφυγόντα εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἀνελών, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Βιθυνίας, ἀσεβεστάτῳ φόνῳ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν.

(Photius, *Bibl.* p. 383 B.)

22. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν Καρχηδονίων Ἀσδρούβας διαπρεσβευσάμενος πρὸς Γολόσσην προεκαλεῖτο ἐλθεῖν εἰς σύλλογον, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ προέτεινε τῷ Ἀσδρούβᾳ αὐτῷ τε καὶ δέκα οἰκίαις[2] αἷς ἂν βούληται ἀσφάλειαν καὶ δωρεὰν ταλάντων δέκα καὶ δοῦλα σώματα ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ Ἀσδρούβας ἀπεκρίθη μηδέποτε ἐπόψεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον πυρπολουμένης τῆς πατρίδος

[1] So Dindorf: Μαγνούσιον V. [2] So Mai: οἰκίας V.

had become physically effeminate through soft living, he was detested by the Bithynians.[1]

20. The senate dispatched a commission to Asia to settle the war between Nicomedes and his father Prusias, and selected for this service Licinius, a man afflicted with gout, Mancinus, who had had his head pierced by a falling tile so that most of the bones were removed, and Lucius, a person utterly without perception. Cato, the leader of the senate and a man of great sagacity, thereupon remarked in the senate: "We are sending out an embassy without feet, without head, and without heart." His shot was well aimed and became the talk of the town.

21. Nicomedes, having defeated his father Prusias in battle, put him to death after he took sanctuary in the temple of Zeus. Thus he succeeded to the throne of Bithynia, having gained this eminence by perpetrating a most sacrilegious murder.

22. While the Carthaginians lay beleaguered, 147 B.C. Hasdrubal sent and invited Gulussa to come to a colloquy. In accordance with the commands of the general,[2] Gulussa offered Hasdrubal an asylum for himself and ten families of his choosing with a grant of ten talents and a hundred slaves. Hasdrubal replied that while his country was being ravaged

[1] Despite the fact that the affair of Prusias occurred in 149 B.C., Diodorus seems, from the order of the fragments, to have placed it with or after the events of 148 B.C. Chapters 19-20 are based on Polybius, 36. 14-15. The envoys mentioned in chap. 20 are M. Licinius, A. Hostilius Mancinus, and L. Manlius Vulso. For chap. 21 cp. Zonaras, 9. 28.

[2] *i.e.* Scipio. Gulussa (or Golosses) was a son of Masinissa, actively allied with Rome. This chapter corresponds, in part, to Polybius, 38. 7-8.

ἑαυτὸν διασωζόμενον, καὶ τοῖς μὲν λόγοις ἐθρασύνετο, διὰ δὲ τῶν ἔργων ἐφωράθη διαδιδράσκων, ὅς γε καὶ τῆς πατρίδος οὔσης ἐν ἀπεγνωσμέναις ἐλπίσιν ἐτρύφα, πότους ἀκαίρους συνάγων καὶ πολυτελῆ δεῖπνα ποιῶν καὶ δευτέρας τραπέζας ὑπερηφάνως παρατιθέμενος.[1] καὶ οἱ μὲν πολῖται λιμῷ ἀπέθνησκον, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς ἐφόρει πορφύραν καὶ πολυτελῆ χλανίδα, καθάπερ ἐκβακχεύων τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἀκληρήμασιν.

23. Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Καρχηδόνος ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας ἢ μᾶλλον μεγαλαυχίας ἐπιλαθόμενος καὶ τοὺς αὐτομόλους καταλιπὼν ἧκε πρὸς Σκιπίωνα μεθ' ἱκετηρίας. προσπεσὼν δὲ τοῖς γόνασι μετὰ δακρύων πᾶσαν δεητικὴν φωνὴν προέμενος εἰς συμπάθειαν ἤγαγε τὸν Σκιπίωνα. ὁ δὲ παρακαλέσας αὐτὸν θαρρεῖν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνεδρεύοντας φίλους εἰπών, Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρότερον μὴ βουλόμενος ἐπὶ πολλοῖς φιλανθρώποις σωθῆναι· τοιαύτην μεταβολὴν ἡ τύχη καὶ δύναμιν ἔχει, πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην ὑπεροχὴν ἀνελπίστως σφάλλουσα.

24. Ὅτι τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἐμπρησθείσης καὶ τῆς φλογὸς ἅπασαν τὴν πόλιν καταπληκτικῶς λυμαινομένης, ὁ Σκιπίων ἀπροσποιήτως ἐδάκρυεν. ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυβίου τοῦ ἐπιστάτου τίνος ἕνεκα τοῦτο πάσχει εἶπε, Διότι τῆς κατὰ τὴν τύχην μεταβολῆς ἔννοιαν λαμβάνω· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ ἴσως ποτέ

[1] So Dindorf: διατιθέμενος V.

with fire the sun would never behold him seeking safety for himself. Now in words he cut a brave figure, but his deeds exposed him as a renegade. For though his city was in desperate straits, he led a luxurious life, holding drinking parties at all hours, giving sumptuous banquets, and arrogantly serving second courses. Meanwhile his fellow citizens were perishing of starvation, but he, as the crowning insult, went about in purple robes and an expensive woollen cloak, as though revelling in his country's misfortunes.

23. At the fall of Carthage the general,[1] forgetting 146 B.C. his proud courage, or rather his proud talk, abandoned the deserters and approached Scipio in the guise of a suppliant. Clasping Scipio by the knees and sobbing as he urged every possible plea, he moved him to compassion. Scipio exhorted him to take heart, and addressing the friends who sat with him in council, said: "This is the man who a while back was not willing to accept an offer of safety on highly favourable terms. Such is the inconstancy of Fortune and her power; unpredictably she brings about the collapse of all human pretensions."

24. When Carthage had been put to the torch and the flames were doing their awful work of devastation throughout the whole city, Scipio wept unabashedly. Asked by Polybius, his mentor, why he was thus affected, he said: "Because I am reflecting on the fickleness of Fortune. Some day, perhaps, the time

[1] Hasdrubal. The "deserters" referred to were some 900 Romans, who with Hasdrubal and his family had barricaded themselves in the temple of Esmun and refused to surrender. After the defection of Hasdrubal, his wife killed their sons and threw herself into the flames. See Polybius, 38. 19-21, and Appian, *Pun.* 130-131.

τινα καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ τὸ παραπλήσιον πάθος ὑπάρξει κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην· καὶ τούτους τοὺς στίχους παρὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ προηνέγκατο,[1]

> ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
> καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαός.

(*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 379-380.)

25. Ὅτι ὁ Σκιπίων μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν Καρχηδόνος τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας κατηντηκόσι πρεσβευταῖς ἐπιδείξας ἅπαντα τὰ λάφυρα προσέταξεν ἑκάστους τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων πατρίδων εἰς Καρχηδόνα πάλαι ποτὲ μετενηνεγμένα ἐπιλεγομένους ἀποκομίζειν εἰς Σικελίαν. καὶ πολλαὶ μὲν εὑρέθησαν ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν γραφαί, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἐπιφανεῖς ταῖς κατασκευαῖς, οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ ἀναθήματα διαπρεπῆ θεῶν ἀργυρᾶ τε καὶ χρυσᾶ. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ὑπῆρχε καὶ ὁ περιβόητος ταῦρος ἐξ Ἀκράγαντος, ὃν κατασκευάσας[2] Περίλαος Φαλάριδι[3] τῷ τυράννῳ, καὶ πρῶτος τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἰδίας τέχνης ἐν τῇ καθ' αὑτὸν τιμωρίᾳ δικαίως ὑπομείνας, ἀνῃρέθη.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), p. 293.)

26. Ὅτι οὐδέποτε συμφοραὶ τηλικαῦται τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατέσχον ἀφ' ὅτου μνήμης ἱστορικῆς αἱ πράξεις τετεύχασι. διὰ γὰρ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ἀκληρημάτων οὔτε γράφων τις οὔτ' ἀναγινώσκων ἄδακρυς ἂν γένοιτο. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν ὅτι πρόσαντές ἐστιν μεμνῆσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀτυχημάτων καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις διὰ τῆς γραφῆς παραδιδόναι τὰ πραχθέντα πρὸς αἰώνιον μνήμην· ἀλλ' ὁρῶ μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον πρὸς διόρθωσιν τῶν

[1] So Mai: προσηνέγκατο V.
[2] So Salmasius, Wesseling: κατασκάσας P.
[3] So Valesius: Φαλωρίδι P.

will come when a similar fate shall overtake Rome." And he cited these lines from the poet, Homer:

> The day will come when sacred Ilium shall perish, with Priam and his people.[1]

25. After the capture of Carthage Scipio, showing the collected spoils to the envoys who had arrived from Sicily, bade them severally pick out whatever things had in times past been carried off from their particular cities to Carthage, and to take them home to Sicily. Many portraits of famous men were found, many statues of outstanding workmanship, and not a few striking dedications to the gods in gold and silver. Among them was also the notorious bull of Acragas: Perilaüs fashioned it for the tyrant Phalaris, and lost his life in the first demonstration of his device when he was justly punished by being himself made its victim.[2]

26. Never in all the time that men's deeds have been recorded in history had Greece been a prey to such calamities.[3] Indeed, so extreme were her misfortunes that no one could either write or read of them without weeping. I am not unaware how painful it is to rehearse the misfortunes of Greece, and through my writings to pass on to coming generations an enduring record of what then befell; but I note too that warnings drawn from experience of events

[1] *Iliad*, 6. 448-449. For the narrative cp. Polybius, 38. 22 (=Appian, *Pun.* 132). The Polybius of the incident is the historian.
[2] See Books 9. 18-19 and 13. 90 for the bull, and, on the passage in general, Appian, *Pun.* 133.
[3] The present chapter is freely adapted from Polybius, 38. 1-6 (his introduction to the book), and 9-13. A few specific parallels are noted below.

ἁμαρτανομένων συμβαλλόμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων πείρας νουθετήματα. ὥστ' οὐ χρὴ τοῖς ἱστοροῦσι τὰς μέμψεις ἀναφέρειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοῖς κεχειρικόσι τὰς πράξεις ἀφρόνως· οὐ γὰρ δι' ἀνανδρίαν στρατιωτικὴν ἀλλὰ δι' ἀπειρίαν στρατηγῶν τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν περι-
2 έπεσε τοῖς ἀκληρήμασι. περὶ γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς δεινοῦ πάθους περὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τελεσθέντος οὐχ ἧττον ἀτύχημα, μεῖζον[1] δέ, εἰ χρὴ τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἀκλήρημα συνέβαινε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ὁλοσχερῶς ἀφανισθέντες καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀκληρήμασι λύπην συναπέβαλον, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδόντες συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων σφαγὰς καὶ πελεκισμοὺς καὶ πατρίδων ἁλώσεις καὶ ἁρπαγὰς καὶ πανδήμους μεθ' ὕβρεως ἀνδραποδισμοὺς καὶ τὸ σύνολον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν ἀποβαλόντες, μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἠλλάξαντο τὰς ἐσχάτας συμφοράς. ἀφρονέστατα γὰρ εἰς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἐμπεσόντες τῶν μεγίστων ἀκληρημάτων ἐπειράθησαν.

3 Ἐκ θεῶν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, λύσσα τις κατεῖχε τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ παράδοξος ὁρμὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀπώλειαν. αἴτιοι δ' ἦσαν τῶν πάντων κακῶν οἱ στρατηγοί. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄντες κατάχρεοι κινήσεως καὶ πολέμων ὑπῆρχον οἰκεῖοι καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς εἰσηγοῦντο καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀπόρων χρεωφειλετῶν ἔχοντες συνεργοὺς ἀνέσειον τὰ πλήθη, τινὲς δὲ δι' ἀφροσύνην ἐνέπεσον εἰς ἀπεγνω-

[1] So Dindorf: μᾶλλον V.

[1] For the comparison with Carthage see Polybius, 38. 1. 6.

and their outcome are of no little service to men in correcting their own shortcomings. Accordingly criticism should be directed not at the historians, but rather at those whose conduct of affairs has been so unwise. It was not, for example, the cowardice of the soldiers, but the inexperience of their commanders that brought the Achaean League crashing to its fall. For though it was a dreadful disaster that overtook the Carthaginians at about this same time, yet the misfortune that befell the Greeks was not less but even, in all truth, greater than theirs. For since the Carthaginians were utterly annihilated, grief for their misfortunes perished with them; but the Greeks, after witnessing in person the butchery and beheading of their kinsmen and friends, the capture and looting of their cities, the abusive enslavement of whole populations, after, in a word, losing both their liberty and the right to speak freely, exchanged the height of prosperity for the most extreme misery. Having so heedlessly allowed themselves to get into war with Rome, they now experienced the greatest disasters.[1]

Indeed the frenzy that possessed the Achaean League and their surprising plunge into self-destruction had all the appearance of a divine visitation. The men responsible for all their troubles were the generals. Some of them, being involved in debt, were ripe for revolution and war, and proposed the cancelling of all debts; and since there were many helpless debtors who supported them, they were able to arouse the commons.[2] And there were other leaders who through sheer folly plunged into coun-

[2] See Polybius, 38. 11. 7-11, who places these proposals in the winter of 147/6 B.C.

4 σμένους διαλογισμούς. μάλιστα δὲ ὁ Κριτόλαος ἐξέκαυσε τὰς ὁρμὰς τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς καινοτομίαν, χρώμενος δὲ τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξιώματι φανερῶς κατηγόρει Ῥωμαίων εἰς ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν· ἔφη δὲ φίλος μὲν βούλεσθαι Ῥωμαίων ὑπάρχειν, δεσπότας δὲ ἑκουσίως ἀναδεικνύναι μὴ προαιρεῖσθαι. διεβεβαιοῦτο δὲ καθόλου τοῖς πλήθεσιν, ὡς ἐὰν μὲν ἄνδρες ὦσιν, οὐκ ἀπορήσουσι συμμάχων, ἐὰν δὲ ἀνδράποδα, κυρίων· ἐμφάσεις τε διὰ λόγων ἀπέλειπεν ὡς ἤδη καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ πόλεσι διείλεκται περὶ συμμαχίας.

5 Ὅτι διὰ τῶν λόγων ἐκκαύσας τῶν ὄχλων τὴν ὁρμὴν εἰσήνεγκε ψήφισμα πολεμεῖν τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. οὕτω δὲ[1] πολλάκις ἡ κακία τῆς ἀρετῆς προτερεῖ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ὄλεθρον νεύουσα γνώμη τῆς πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀπέχεσθαι παρακλήσεως.[2]

27. Ὅτι περὶ τῆς Κορίνθου καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ προειρηκότες ἦσαν

Κόρινθος ἄστρον οὐκ ἄσημον Ἑλλάδος.

αὕτη πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν μεταγενεστέρων ὑπὸ τῶν κρατούντων ἠφανίσθη. οὐ μόνον δὲ κατὰ τὸν τῆς καταστροφῆς καιρὸν ἡ πόλις ἔτυχε παρὰ τοῖς ὁρῶσι μεγάλης συμπαθείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὕστερον χρόνους εἰς ἔδαφος κατερριμμένη πολὺν ἐποίει[3] τοῖς ἀεὶ θεωροῦσιν αὐτὴν ἔλεον. οὐδεὶς γὰρ

[1] δὴ Herwerden.
[2] The text is uncertain; Dindorf suggests the addition of

sels of despair. Above all it was Critolaüs[1] who enflamed the sparks of revolution in the populace. Using the prestige that his position gave him he openly accused the Romans of high-handed behaviour and self-seeking: he said that he wished to be Rome's friend, but that he certainly did not choose, of his own free will, to hail the Romans as overlords. The assemblies were sweepingly assured that, if they showed themselves men, they would not lack allies; if slaves, that they would not lack masters; and in his speeches he created the impression that conversations had already been held with kings and free cities on the subject of a military alliance.

Having by his oratory inflamed the passions of the mob he brought forward a proposed declaration of war, nominally against Sparta, but in reality against Rome. Thus all too often vice prevails over virtue, and a declaration that leads to destruction over an appeal to refrain and be safe.

27. Of Corinth the poets had sung in earlier time:

Corinth, bright star of Hellas.

This was the city that, to the dismay of later ages, was now wiped out by her conquerors. Nor was it only at the time of her downfall that Corinth evoked great compassion from those that saw her; even in later times, when they saw the city levelled to the ground, all who looked upon her were moved to pity.

[1] *Strategus* of the Achaean League. For the remainder of the chapter the scene is the general assembly of the League at Corinth (cp. Polybius, 38. 12-13).

ποιεῖ; Herwerden would read παρακαλούσης for παρακλήσεως, Van der Mey ἀπέχεται for ἀπέχεσθαι.
[3] ἐνεποίει Herwerden, Dindorf[4].

τῶν παροδευόντων αὐτὴν παρῆλθεν ἄδακρυς, καίπερ ὁρῶν λείψανα βραχέα τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν γεγενημένης εὐδαιμονίας τε καὶ δόξης. διὸ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς τῆς παλαιᾶς[1] *ἡλικίας καιρούς, διεληλυθότων χρόνων σχεδὸν ἑκατόν, θεασάμενος αὐτὴν Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ ὁ διὰ τὰς πράξεις ὀνομασθεὶς θεὸς ταύτην ἀνέστησεν.*

2 *Ἐναντία γὰρ πάθη συνεῖχε τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐλπίδι σωτηρίας καὶ προσδοκίαις τῆς ἀπωλείας.* (*Const. Exc.* 4, pp. 380-381.)

3 *Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς τῆς παλαιᾶς*[1] *ἡλικίας καιρούς, διεληλυθότων σχεδὸν ἐτῶν ἑκατόν, θεασάμενος τὴν Κόρινθον Γάϊος Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ ὁ διὰ τὰς πράξεις ὀνομασθεὶς θεὸς εἰς τοιαύτην ἦλθε συμπάθειαν καὶ φιλοδοξίαν ὥστε μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς πάλιν αὐτὴν ἀναστῆσαι. διόπερ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιεικείας δίκαιόν ἐστι μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιοῦσθαι καὶ διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπονέμειν αὐτῷ τὸν αἰώνιον τῆς χρηστότητος ἔπαινον. τῶν γὰρ προγόνων αὐτοῦ σκληρότερον κεχρημένων τῇ πόλει, οὗτος διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἡμερότητος διωρθώσατο τὰς ἐκείνων ἀποτομίας, προκρίνας τῆς τιμωρίας τὴν συγγνώμην. ὑπερεβάλετο δὲ οὗτος τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ τῷ*[2] *μεγέθει τῶν κατεργασθέντων καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς δικαίως ἐκτήσατο. καθόλου δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος εὐγενείᾳ τε καὶ λόγου δεινότητι καὶ στρατηγήμασι πολεμικοῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργυρίᾳ ἀποδοχῆς δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀξιοῦσθαι καὶ διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἄξιον*

[1] *ἡμετέρας* Valesius. [2] So Salmasius, Valesius: *τὸ* P.

No traveller passing by but wept, though he beheld but a few scant relics of her past prosperity and glory. Wherefore in ancient[1] times, nearly a hundred years later, Gaius Iulius Caesar (who for his great deeds was entitled *divus*), after viewing the site restored the city.

Their spirits were gripped by two opposite emotions, the hope of safety and the expectation of destruction.

In ancient times,[1] nearly a hundred years later, Gaius Iulius Caesar (who for his great deeds was entitled *divus*), when he inspected the site of Corinth, was so moved by compassion and the thirst for fame that he set about restoring it with great energy. It is therefore just that this man and his high standard of conduct should receive our full approval and that we should by our history accord him enduring praise for his generosity. For whereas his forefathers had harshly used the city, he by his clemency made amends for their unrelenting severity, preferring to forgive rather than to punish. In the magnitude of his achievements he surpassed all his predecessors, and he deserved the title[2] that he acquired on the basis of his own merits. To sum up, this was a man who by his nobility, his power as an orator, his leadership in war, and his indifference to money is entitled to receive our approval, and to be

[1] The point of view is Byzantine. Unless the whole phrase is an addition, Diodorus must have written "In the period of my lifetime."—The *Colonia Iulia Corinthus* was founded in 44 B.C.

[2] *i.e.* the title *divus*: see above and Book 1. 4. 7. The following sentence, with its repetition of what has been said above, may come from the conclusion of a longer eulogy of Caesar.

ἀπονέμειν αὐτῷ[1] τὸν τῆς χρηστότητος ἔπαινον. μεγέθει γὰρ πράξεων ἅπαντας τοὺς πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ[2] Ῥωμαίους ὑπερέθετο.

(*Const. Exc.* 2 (1), pp. 293-294.)

9c. Ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλομήτωρ ἧκεν εἰς Συρίαν συμμαχήσων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ διὰ οἰκειότητα. καταγνοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς παντελῆ ἀδυναμίαν καὶ προσποιηθεὶς ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα Κλεοπάτραν ἀπήγαγε πρὸς Δημήτριον, καὶ συνθέμενος φιλίαν ἐνεγύησεν αὐτῷ ταύτην. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἱέρακα καὶ Διόδοτον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κατεγνωκότες, τὸν δὲ Δημήτριον φοβούμενοι διὰ τὰς εἰς τὸν πατέρα γεγενημένας ἁμαρτίας, ἀνέσεισαν τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς πρὸς ἀπόστασιν, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον εἰς τὴν πόλιν δεξάμενοι διάδημα περιέθηκαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐνεχείρισαν. ὁ δὲ τῆς μὲν βασιλείας οὐκ ὀρεγόμενος, τὴν δὲ Κοίλην Συρίαν ἐπιθυμῶν προσκτήσασθαι, συνέθετο πρὸς Δημήτριον κοινοπραγίαν ἰδίᾳ, κυριεύειν Πτολεμαῖον τῆς Συρίας, τὸν δὲ Δημήτριον τῆς πατρῴας βασιλείας. (*Const. Exc.* 3, pp. 203-204.)

9d, 10. 1. Ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς μάχης[3] μετὰ πεντακοσίων τὴν φυγὴν ἐποιήσατο[4] τῆς Ἀραβίας εἰς τὰς καλουμένας Ἄβας πρὸς Διοκλέα τὸν δυνάστην, πρὸς ὃν ἦν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον

[1] So Salmasius, Valesius: *αὐτὸν* P.
[2] So Büttner-Wobst: *πρὸς αὐτὸν* P, *πρὸ αὐτοῦ* Salmasius, Valesius.
[3] Ὁ . . . *μάχης*] *Ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρος ἡττηθεὶς* S.—Photius' own introduction to chaps. 10-12, printed by Dindorf as part of chap. 10, has been omitted here.
[4] *ἐποιήσαντο* S.

accorded praise by history for his generous behaviour. For in the magnitude of his deeds he surpassed all earlier Romans.

9c. Ptolemy Philometor entered Syria intending to c. 146 B.C. support Alexander on the grounds of kinship.[1] But on discovering the man's downright poverty of spirit, he transferred his daughter Cleopatra to Demetrius, alleging that there was a conspiracy afoot,[2] and after arranging an alliance pledged her to him in marriage. Hierax and Diodotus, despairing of Alexander and standing in fear of Demetrius because of their misdeeds against his father, aroused the people of Antioch to rebellion, and receiving Ptolemy within the city, bound a diadem about his head and offered him the kingship. He, however, had no appetite for the throne, but did desire to add Coelê Syria to his own realm, and privately arranged with Demetrius a joint plan, whereby Ptolemy was to rule Coelê Syria and Demetrius his ancestral domains.

9d and 10. 1. Alexander, worsted in battle,[3] fled 145 B.C. with five hundred of his men to Abae in Arabia, to take refuge with Diocles, the local sheikh, in whose

[1] Alexander Balas (on whom see Book 31. 32a) had overthrown Demetrius I with the aid of Ptolemy Philometor (150 B.C.) and had then married Ptolemy's daughter. Alexander was now threatened by Demetrius, the young son of Demetrius I, who gained the throne, as Demetrius (II) Nicator Theos Philadelphus, in 145 B.C.
[2] Cp. 1 Macc. 11. 10; Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 13. 103 ff. 1 Macc. 10. 67 dates the invasion of Demetrius in the year 165 of the Seleucid era (148/7 B.C.). The exact date of Ptolemy's entry on the scene is uncertain.
[3] The combined forces of Demetrius and Ptolemy engaged him by the river Oenoparas (early summer 145 B.C.). Abae is unknown but must have been in northern Syria.

προεκτεθειμένος ὄντα νήπιον. εἶθ'[1] οἱ μὲν[2] περὶ τὸν Ἡλιάδην καὶ Κάσιον[3] ἡγεμόνες, οἳ συνῆσαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, λάθρᾳ διεπρεσβεύσαντο περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας,[4] ἐπαγγελλόμενοι δολοφονήσειν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου περὶ ὧν ἠξίουν, οὐ μόνον προδόται τοῦ βασιλέως ἀλλὰ καὶ φονεῖς ἐγενήθησαν. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀνῃρέθη.[5]

(*Const. Exc.* 3, p. 204; Photius, *Bibl.* p. 377 B.)

10. 2. Οὐκ ἄξιον δὲ παρελθεῖν τὴν γενομένην περιπέτειαν πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, διὰ δὲ τὸ παράδοξον ἴσως ἀπιστηθησομένην. Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ τοῦ βασιλέως βραχὺ πρὸ τῶν ἐνεστώτων χρόνων χρηστηριαζομένου κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν, ἔνθα φασὶν Ἀπόλλωνος Σαρπηδονίου ἱερὸν εἶναι, ἀνελεῖν αὐτῷ λέγεται τὸν θεὸν φυλάξασθαι τὸν τόπον τὸν ἐνεγκόντα τὸν δίμορφον. καὶ τότε μὲν αἰνιγματώδη τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι δόξαι, ὕστερον μέντοι μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιγνωσθῆναι τὸ λόγιον διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας.

Τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις Ἄβαις ᾤκει τις Διόφαντος ὄνομα, τὸ δὲ γένος Μακεδών. οὗτος ἐγχώριον Ἀραβίαν γυναῖκα γήμας ἐγέννησε υἱὸν μὲν ὁμώνυμον ἑαυτῷ, θυγατέρα δὲ τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν Ἡραΐδα. τὸν μὲν οὖν υἱὸν πρὸ τῆς ἀκμῆς ἐπεῖδε τελευτήσαντα, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα γάμου ἔχουσαν ὥραν προικίσας συγκατῴκισέ τινι ὄνομα
3 Σαμιάδῃ.[6] οὗτος μὲν οὖν συμβιώσας τῇ γαμηθείσῃ χρόνον ἐνιαύσιον ἀπεδήμησε μακρὰν ἀποδη-

[1] εἶτα Photius.
[2] S omits μέν.
[3] Photius omits καὶ Κάσιον.
[4] ἡγεμονίας Photius.

care he had earlier placed his infant son Antiochus.[1] Thereupon Heliades and Casius, two officers who were with Alexander, entered into secret negotiations for their own safety and voluntarily offered to assassinate Alexander. When Demetrius consented to their terms, they became, not merely traitors to their king, but his murderers. Thus was Alexander put to death by his friends.

10. 2. It would be a mistake to omit the strange occurrence that took place before the death of Alexander, even though it is a thing so marvellous that it will not, perhaps, be credited. A short while before the time of our present narrative, as King Alexander was consulting an oracle in Cilicia (where[2] there is said to be a sanctuary of Apollo Sarpedonius), the god, we are told, replied to him that he should beware of the place that bore the "two-formed one." At the time the oracle seemed enigmatic, but later, after the king's death, its sense was learnt through the following causes.

There was dwelling at Abae in Arabia a certain man named Diophantus, a Macedonian by descent. He married an Arabian woman of that region and begot a son, named for himself, and a daughter called Heraïs. Now the son he saw dead before his prime, but when the daughter was of an age to be married he gave her a dowry and bestowed her upon a man named Samiades. He, after living in wedlock with his wife for the space of a year, went off on a

[1] Soon afterwards put forward as king by Diodotus (Tryphon), with the title Antiochus (VI) Theos Epiphanes Dionysus.
[2] At Seleuceia.

[5] Photius omits Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν . . . ἀνῃρέθη.
[6] So Rhodoman: Σαμία A, Σαμιάδης *cett.*

μίαν. τὴν δ᾽ Ἡραΐδα φασὶν ἀρρωστίᾳ περιπεσεῖν παραδόξῳ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπιστουμένῃ. φλεγμονὴν γὰρ ἰσχυρὰν γενέσθαι περὶ τὸ ἦτρον αὐτῆς. ἐπὶ πλέον δὲ οἰδήσαντος τοῦ τόπου, ἔπειτα τῶν πυρετῶν μεγάλων συνεπιγινομένων, καταδοξάσαι τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἕλκωσιν γεγονέναι περὶ τὸν τράχηλον τῆς μήτρας. χρωμένων δὲ αὐτῶν θεραπείαις αἷς ὑπελάμβανον καταστελεῖν[1] τὰς φλεγμονάς, ἑβδομαίας δ᾽ οὔσης ῥῆξιν ἐπιγενέσθαι τῆς ἐπιφανείας, καὶ προπεσεῖν ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἡραΐδος γυναικείων αἰδοῖον ἀνδρεῖον ἔχον διδύμους προσκειμένους. τὴν δὲ ῥῆξιν τούτων καὶ τὸ πάθος γενέσθαι μήτε ἰατροῦ μήτ᾽ ἄλλων τῶν ἔξωθεν παρόντων πλὴν μητρὸς
4 καὶ δύο θεραπαινίδων. τότε μὲν οὖν ἀχανεῖς γενομένας διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσασθαι τῆς Ἡραΐδος καὶ κατασιωπῆσαι τὸ γεγονός. τὴν δὲ ἀπολυθεῖσαν τῆς νόσου τὴν ἐσθῆτα φορεῖν γυναικείαν, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀγωγὴν οἰκουρὸν καὶ ὕπανδρον διαφυλάττειν. καταδοξάζεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν συνειδότων τὴν περιπέτειαν ἑρμαφρόδιτον εἶναι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν γεγενημένην μετ᾽ ἀνδρὸς συμβίωσιν, τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐπιπλοκῆς ἀντιπραττούσης, δοκεῖν αὐτὴν ταῖς ἀρρενικαῖς
5 συμπεριφοραῖς καθωμιλῆσθαι. λανθανούσης δὲ τοὺς ἐκτὸς τῆς διαθέσεως ταύτης, ἐπανελθεῖν τὸν Σαμιάδην, καὶ καθάπερ ἦν ἐπιβάλλον τὴν γαμηθεῖσαν ἐπιζητεῖν· οὐ τολμώσης δ᾽ ἐκείνης εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην, τὸν Σαμιάδην φασὶ βαρέως ἐνεγκεῖν. ἐπικειμένου δὲ συνεχέστερον καὶ ἀπαιτοῦντος τὴν σύμβιον, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς μὴ συγχωροῦντος μέν, αἰσχυνομένου δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν, εἰς μέγα ηὔξετο ἡ διαφορά. ἐπενεγκεῖν τε διὰ

long journey. Heraïs, it is said, fell ill of a strange and altogether incredible infirmity. A severe tumour appeared at the base of her abdomen, and as the region became more and more swollen and high fevers supervened her physicians suspected that an ulceration had taken place at the mouth of the uterus. They applied such remedies as they thought would reduce the inflammation, but notwithstanding, on the seventh day, the surface of the tumour burst, and projecting from her groin there appeared a male genital organ with testicles attached. Now when the rupture occurred, with its sequel, neither her physician nor any other visitors were present, but only her mother and two maidservants. Dumfounded at this extraordinary event they tended Heraïs as best they could, and said nothing of what had occurred. She, on recovering from her illness, wore feminine attire and continued to conduct herself as a homebody and as one subject to a husband. It was assumed, however, by those who were privy to the strange secret that she was an hermaphrodite, and as to her past life with her husband, since natural intercourse did not fit their theory, she was thought to have consorted with him homosexually. Now while her condition was still undisclosed, Samiades returned and, as was fitting, sought the company of his wife. And when she, for very shame, could not bear to appear in his presence, he, they say, grew angry. As he continually pressed the point and claimed his wife, her father meanwhile denying his plea but feeling too embarrassed to disclose the reason, their disagreement soon grew into a quarrel. As a result Samiades

[1] So Herwerden: καταστέλλειν.

τοῦτο δίκην τῷ πατρὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας γυναικός, τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐν δράμασι τὸ παράδοξον τῆς περιπετείας ἀγούσης εἰς ἔγκλημα. συνεδρευσάντων δὲ τῶν κριτῶν καὶ λόγων ῥηθέντων συμπαρεῖναι μὲν τῇ κρίσει τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον σῶμα, διαπορεῖν δὲ τοὺς δικαστὰς πότερον προσήκει τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς γυναικὸς ἢ τὸν πατέρα τῆς θυγατρὸς κυριεύειν.
6 πέρας τῶν κριτῶν οἰομένων δεῖν ἀκολουθεῖν τἀνδρὶ τὴν γαμηθεῖσαν, τὴν ἀλήθειαν διασαφῆσαι, καὶ θυμῷ τετολμηκότι τὴν καθυποκρινομένην ἐσθῆτα λύσασαν δεῖξαι πᾶσι τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἄρρεν,[1] ῥῆξαί τε φωνὴν δεινοπαθοῦσαν, εἴ τινες ἀναγκάζουσι
7 συνοικεῖν ἀνδρὶ τὸν ἄνδρα. πάντων δὲ καταπλαγέντων καὶ φωνῇ θαυμαζούσῃ τὸ παράδοξον ἐπισημαινομένων, τὴν μὲν Ἡραΐδα φασὶν ἀποκαλυφθείσης τῆς αἰσχύνης μεταμφιάσασθαι τὸν γυναικεῖον κόσμον εἰς νεανίσκου διάθεσιν, τοὺς δὲ ἰατρούς, ἐπιδειχθέντων αὐτοῖς τῶν φανέντων, γνῶναι ὅτι κατεκέκρυπτο φύσις ἄρρενος ἐν ᾠοειδεῖ[2] τόπῳ φύσεως θηλείας, καὶ δέρματος περιειληφότος παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες τὴν φύσιν σύντρησις ἐγεγένητο, δι' ὧν[3] ἐξωδεύοντο τὰ περιττώματα· διόπερ τὸν προσεσυριγγωμένον τόπον ἑλκώσαντας δεῖν κατουλῶσαι, τὴν δὲ ἀνδρὸς φύσιν εὔκοσμον ποιήσαντας
8 †σὺν[4] ἐνδεχομένῃ δόξαι κεχρῆσθαι θεραπείᾳ. τὴν δ' Ἡραΐδα μετονομασθεῖσαν Διόφαντον εἰς τοὺς ἱππεῖς καταλεχθῆναι, καὶ σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ παραταξάμενον εἰς τὰς Ἄβας συναναχωρῆσαι. διὸ καὶ

[1] τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἄρρεν transposed by Rhodoman from a position following διασαφῆσαι, above.
[2] So Bekker: ὁμοειδεῖ A, ᾠειδεῖ *cett.*

brought suit for his own wife against her father, for Fortune did in real life what she commonly does in plays and made the strange alteration lead to an accusation. After the judges took their seats and all the arguments had been presented, the person in dispute appeared before the tribunal, and the jurors debated whether the husband should have jurisdiction over his wife or the father over his daughter. When, however, the court found that it was the wife's duty to attend upon her husband, she at last revealed the truth. Screwing up her courage she unloosed the dress that disguised her, displayed her masculinity to them all, and burst out in bitter protest that anyone should require a man to cohabit with a man. All present were overcome with astonishment, and exclaimed with surprise at this marvel. Heraïs, now that her shame had been publicly disclosed, exchanged her woman's apparel for the garb of a young man; and the physicians, on being shown the evidence, concluded that her male organ had been concealed in an egg-shaped portion of the female organ, and that since a membrane had abnormally encased the organ, an aperture had formed through which excretions were discharged. In consequence they found it necessary to scarify the perforated area and induce cicatrization: having thus brought the male organ into decent shape, they gained credit for applying such treatment as the case allowed. Heraïs, changing her name to Diophantus, was enrolled in the cavalry, and after fighting in the king's forces accompanied him in his withdrawal to Abae. Thus

[3] δι' ἧς Wesseling.
[4] σὺν] Post suggests συνετῶς ἂν τῇ. Perhaps simply τῇ for σὺν?

τὸν πρότερον ἀγνοούμενον χρησμὸν τότε γνωσθῆναι, σφαγέντος[1] τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν ταῖς Ἄβαις καθ᾽ ὃν
9 τόπον ὁ δίμορφος ἐγεγένητο. τὸν δὲ Σαμιάδην λέγουσιν, ἔρωτι καὶ τῇ προγεγενημένῃ συνηθείᾳ δεδουλωμένον, αἰσχύνῃ τε τοῦ παρὰ φύσιν γάμου συνεχόμενον, τῆς μὲν οὐσίας τὸν Διόφαντον ἀναδεῖξαι διαθήκῃ κληρονόμον, ἑαυτὸν δὲ τοῦ ζῆν μεταστῆσαι, ὥστε τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα γεγενημένην ἀνδρὸς ἀναλαβεῖν δόξαν καὶ τόλμαν, τὸν δ᾽ ἄνδρα γυναικείας ψυχῆς ἀσθενέστερον γενέσθαι.

11. Παραπλησία δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ διαθέσει συνετελέσθη περιπέτεια τριάκοντα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων. ἦν γάρ τις Ἐπιδαυρία, κόρη μὲν εἶναι δοκοῦσα, γονέων δὲ ὀρφανή, Καλλὼ δ᾽ ὄνομα. αὕτη τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς φύσεως ἀποδεδειγμένον ταῖς γυναιξὶ πόρον ἄτρητον εἶχεν, παρὰ δὲ τὸν καλούμενον κτένα συριγγωθέντος τόπου[2] ἐκ γενετῆς τὰς περιττώσεις τῶν ὑγρῶν ἐξέκρινεν. εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς ἡλικίας παραγενομένη συνῳκίσθη τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν. διετῆ μὲν οὖν χρόνον συνεβίωσε τἀνδρί, τὴν μὲν γυναικείαν ἐπιπλοκὴν οὐκ ἐπιδεχομένη, τὴν δὲ παρὰ φύσιν ὁμιλίαν ὑπομένειν
2 ἀναγκαζομένη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φλεγμονῆς αὐτῇ συμβάσης περὶ τὸν κτένα καὶ δεινῶν ἀλγηδόνων ἐπιγενομένων συνεκλήθη πλῆθος ἰατρῶν. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδεὶς ὑπισχνεῖτο θεραπεύειν,[3] φαρμακοπώλης δέ τις ἐπαγγελλόμενος ὑγιάσειν ἔτεμε τὸν ἐπηρμένον τόπον, ἐξ οὗπερ ἐξέπεσεν ἀνδρὸς αἰδοῖα, δίδυμοι καὶ καυλὸς ἄτρητος. πάντων δὲ τὸ παράδοξον καταπλαγέντων ὁ φαρμακοπώλης ἐβοήθει

it was that the oracle, which previously had not been understood, now became clear when the king was assassinated at Abae, the birthplace of the "two-formed one." As for Samiades, they say that he, a thrall still to his love and its old associations, but constrained by shame for his unnatural marriage, designated Diophantus in his will as heir to his property, and made his departure from life. Thus she who was born a woman took on man's courage and renown, while the man proved to be less strong-minded than a woman.

11. A change of sex under similar conditions occurred thirty years later in the city of Epidaurus. There was an Epidaurian child, named Callo, orphaned of both parents, who was supposed to be a girl. Now the orifice with which women are naturally provided had in her case no opening, but beside the so-called *pecten* she had from birth a perforation through which she excreted the liquid residues. On reaching maturity she became the wife of a fellow citizen. For two years she lived with him, and since she was incapable of intercourse as a woman, was obliged to submit to unnatural embraces. Later a tumour appeared on her genitals and because it gave rise to great pain a number of physicians were called in. None of the others would take the responsibility for treating her, but a certain apothecary, who offered to cure her, cut into the swollen area, whereupon a man's privates were protruded, namely testicles and an imperforate penis. While all the others stood amazed at the extraordinary event, the apothecary

[1] So Wesseling: φανέντος.
[2] So Stephanus: καλούμενον συριγγωθέντος (-θέντα B) A, καλούμενον τόπον συριγγωθέντος *dett.*
[3] θεραπεύσειν Herwerden, Dindorf[4].

3 τοῖς λειπομένοις μέρεσι τῆς πηρώσεως. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον τὸ αἰδοῖον ἄκρον ἐπιτεμὼν συνέτρησεν εἰς τὸν οὐρητῆρα, καὶ καθεὶς ἀργυροῦν καυλίσκον ταύτῃ τὰ περιττώματα τῶν ὑγρῶν ἐξεκόμιζε, τὸν δὲ σεσυριγγωμένον τόπον ἑλκώσας συνέφυσε.[1] καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὑγιοποιήσας διπλοῦν ἀπῄτει τὸν μισθόν· ἔφη γὰρ αὐτὸν παρειληφέναι γυναῖκα νοσοῦσαν, καθεστακέναι δὲ νεανίσκον ὑγιαίνοντα.
4 ἡ δὲ Καλλὼ τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱστῶν κερκίδας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τῶν γυναικῶν ταλασιουργίαν ἀπέθετο, μεταλαβοῦσα δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διάθεσιν μετωνομάσθη Κάλλων, ἑνὸς στοιχείου ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τοῦ Ν προστεθέντος. λέγεται δ' ὑπό τινων ὅτι πρὸ τοῦ μεταλαβεῖν τὴν εἰς ἄνδρα μορφὴν ἱέρεια τῆς Δήμητρος ἐγεγένητο, καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἄρρεσιν ἀόρατα ἰδοῦσα κρίσιν ἔσχεν ἀσεβείας.

12. Ὁμοίως δ' ἐν τῇ Νεαπόλει καὶ κατ' ἄλλους τόπους πλείονας ἱστοροῦνται γεγονέναι τοιαῦται περιπέτειαι, οὐκ ἄρρενος καὶ θηλείας φύσεως εἰς δίμορφον τύπον δημιουργηθείσης, ἀδύνατον γὰρ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τῆς φύσεως διὰ τῶν τοῦ σώματος μερῶν ψευδογραφούσης εἰς ἔκπληξιν καὶ ἀπάτην τῶν ἀνθρώπων. διόπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὰς περιπετείας ταύτας ἀναγραφῆς ἠξιώσαμεν, οὐ ψυχαγωγίας ἀλλ' ὠφελείας ἕνεκα τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων. πολλοὶ γὰρ τέρατα τὰ τοιαῦτα νομίζοντες εἶναι δεισιδαιμονοῦσιν, οὐκ ἰδιῶται μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις.
2 κατ' ἀρχὰς γοῦν τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ πολέμου πλησίον τῆς Ῥώμης οἰκοῦντά φασιν Ἰταλικόν, γεγαμηκότα

[1] So Reiske: ἐνέφυσε.

took steps to remedy the remaining deficiencies. First of all, cutting into the glans he made a passage into the urethra, and inserting a silver catheter drew off the liquid residues. Then, by scarifying the perforated area, he brought the parts together. After achieving a cure in this manner he demanded double fees, saying that he had received a female invalid and made her into a healthy young man. Callo laid aside her loom-shuttles and all other instruments of woman's work, and taking in their stead the garb and status of a man changed her name (by adding a single letter, N, at the end) to Callon. It is stated by some that before changing to man's form she had been a priestess of Demeter, and that because she had witnessed things not to be seen by men she was brought to trial for impiety.

12. Likewise in Naples and a good many other places sudden changes of this sort are said to have occurred. Not that the male and female natures have been united to form a truly bisexual type, for that is impossible, but that Nature, to mankind's consternation and mystification, has through the bodily parts falsely given this impression. And this is the reason why we have considered these shifts of sex worthy of record, not for the entertainment, but for the improvement of our readers. For many men, thinking such things to be portents, fall into superstition, and not merely isolated individuals, but even nations and cities.[1] At the outset of the Marsian War, at any rate, there was, so it is reported, an Italian living not far from Rome who had married

[1] The *Liber Prodigiorum* of Iulius Obsequens briefly records many such portents.

παραπλήσιον τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀνδρόγυνον, προσαγγεῖλαι τῇ συγκλήτῳ, τὴν δὲ δεισιδαιμονήσασαν καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Τυρρηνίας ἱεροσκόποις πεισθεῖσαν ζῶντα προστάξαι καῦσαι. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὁμοίας κεκοινωνηκότα φύσεως, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν τέρας γεγενημένον, φασὶν ἀγνοίᾳ τῆς νόσου παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ἀπολωλέναι. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις τοῦ τοιούτου γενομένου διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τοῦ πάθους ζῶντά φασι κατακαῆναι. καὶ γὰρ τὰς λεγομένας ὑαίνας τινὲς μυθολογοῦσιν ἄρρενας ἅμα καὶ θηλείας ὑπάρχειν, καὶ παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀλλήλας ὀχεύειν, τῆς ἀληθείας οὐχ οὕτως ἐχούσης.
3 ἑκατέρου γὰρ τοῦ γένους ἁπλῆν ἔχοντος καὶ ἀνεπίμικτον τὴν φύσιν, προσώρισται τὸ ψευδογραφοῦν καὶ παρακρουόμενον τοὺς εἰκῇ θεωροῦντας· τῇ μὲν γὰρ θηλείᾳ πρόσκειταί τι κατὰ τὴν φύσιν παρεμφερὲς ἄρρενι μορίῳ, τῷ δὲ ἄρρενι κατὰ τὸ ἐναντίον ἔμφασις θηλείας φύσεως. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ζῴων, γινομένων[1] μὲν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν τεράτων, μὴ τρεφομένων δὲ καὶ εἰς τελείαν αὔξησιν ἐλθεῖν οὐ δυναμένων. ταῦτα μὲν εἰρήσθω πρὸς διόρθωσιν δεισιδαιμονίας. (Photius, *Bibl.* pp. 377-379 B.)

[1] So Bekker: γενομένων.

[1] So, for example in Aelian (*De Nat. Anim.* 1. 25), though the error had been recognized as early as Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* 6. 32).

[2] Both before and after this long citation (chapters 10-12) Photius states that it is taken from Book 32, adding in his epilogue that it comes from the end of the book. Dindorf, working from an erroneous chronology, which placed the death of Alexander Balas in 149 B.C., disregarded this evidence. The proper chronological order has, it is hoped, been restored in the present edition. Dindorf was, however, probably right in assuming an error in Photius, or his manuscripts, in regard to the next fragment (Book 33. 1), which is identified in the superscription as being from Book 32. There are other, and demonstrable, errors of the sort in Photius, and the now standard division of the two books is, if uncertain, at least satisfactory. The fact that the *Histories* of Polybius conclude at this point, with the fall of Carthage and of Corinth, and the death of Ptolemy Philometor and (presumably) of Alexander Balas, is a strong argument in support of Dindorf's division.

an hermaphrodite similar to those described above; he laid information before the senate, which in an access of superstitious terror and in obedience to the Etruscan diviners ordered the creature to be burned alive. Thus did one whose nature was like ours and who was not, in reality, a monster, meet an unsuitable end through misunderstanding of his malady. Shortly afterwards there was another such case at Athens, and again through misunderstanding of the affliction the person was burned alive. There are even, in fact, fanciful stories to the effect that the animals called hyenas are at onee both male and female, and that in successive years they mount one another in turn.[1] This is simply not true. Both the male and the female have each their own sexual attributes, simple and distinct, but there is also in each case an adjunct that creates a false impression and deceives the casual observer: the female, in her parts, has an appendage that resembles the male organ, and the male, conversely, has one similar in appearanee to that of the female. This same consideration holds for all living creatures, and while it is true that monsters of every kind are frequently born, they do not develop and are incapable of reaching full maturity. Let this much then be said by way of remedy to superstitious fears.[2]

INDICES

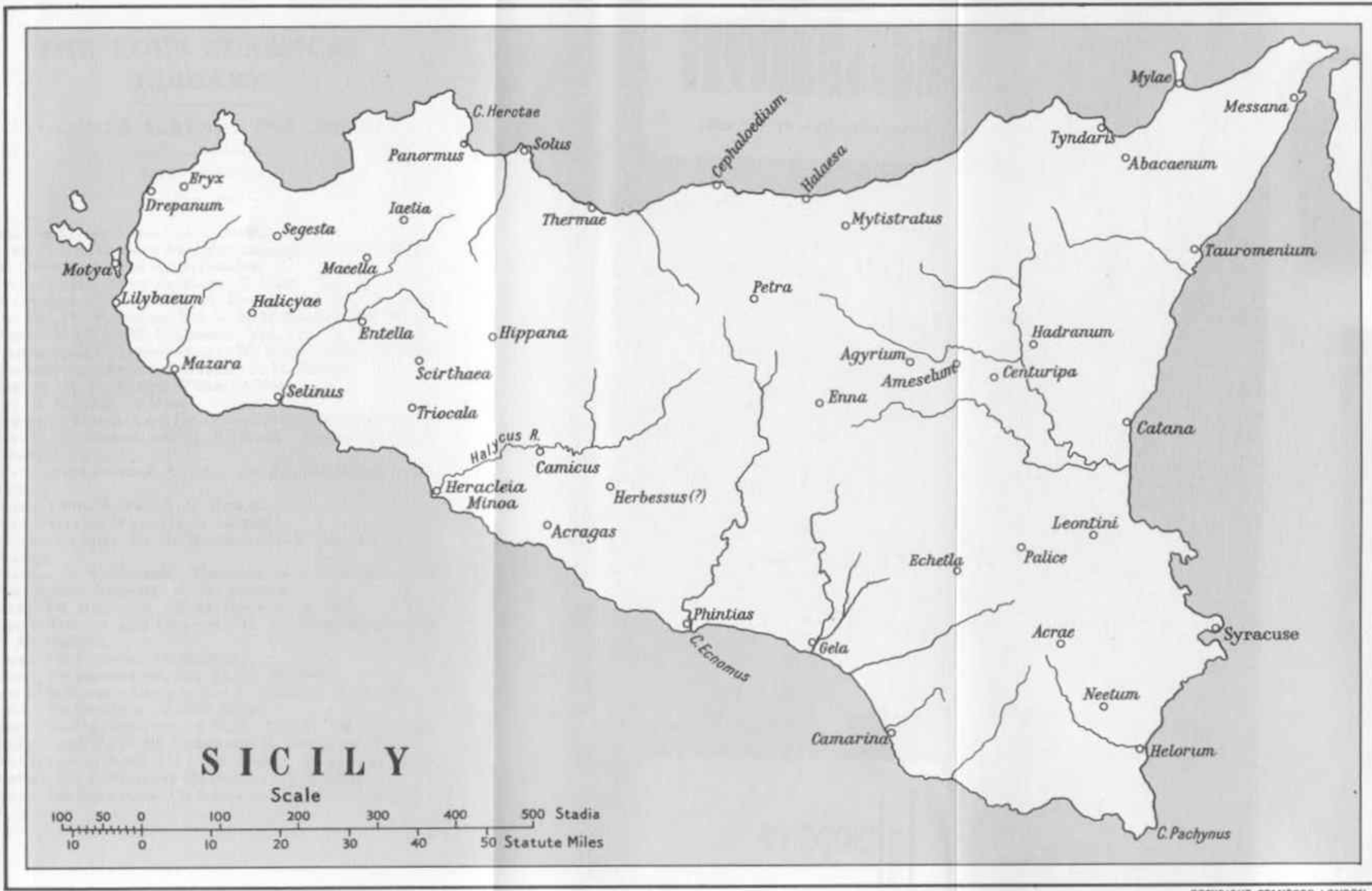
1. INDEX OF PERSONS[1]

[1] A few minor figures are omitted, also some historical figures of an earlier period, as in Book 31. 19.

2. INDEX OF AUTHORS CITED

3. GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

Printed in Great Britain by R. & R. Clark, Limited, *Edinburgh*


SICILY
Scale
100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500 Stadia
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 Statute Miles
C. Herotae
Panormus
Solus
Eryx
Drepanum
Motya
Lilybaeum
Segesta
Iaetia
Macella
Halicyae
Entella
Hippana
Mazara
Scirthaea
Selinus
Triocala
Halycus R.
Camicus
Heracleia
Minoa
Herbessus (?)
Acragas
Thermae
Cephaloedium
Halaesa
Mytistratus
Petra
Agyrium
Ameselum
Enna
Phintias
C. Ecnomus
Gela
Echetla
Camarina
Mylae
Messana
Tyndaris
Abacaenum
Tauromenium
Hadranum
Centuripa
Catana
Leontini
Palice
Syracuse
Acrae
Neetum
Helorum
C. Pachynus